

A HISTORY OF ART

VOLUME ONE



H. B. COTTERILL



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Venus de Milo

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A HISTORY OF ART

BY
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'Italy from Dante to Tasso'

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VOLUME ONE
DOWN TO THE AGE OF RAPHAEL



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INTRODUCTION

THE main object of this book differs essentially from that aimed at by writers who endeavour to supply a complete list of all paintings, sculptures, buildings, and other things that pass as works of art, and to give the name—in many cases the original and the adopted names—of every known artist, although neither his life nor his works may be worthy of comment.

Such Histories of Art are, of course, useful for reference, and if richly illustrated are often attractive. They do not, however, meet the requirements of those who wish to gain some general idea of the origins and evolution of European art, but have neither the time nor the wish to toil through hundreds of pages thick-set with names and data, most of which may be of no use for the realization of their desire.

Had I undertaken to write a book of this encyclopaedic character, even on a much more limited period of art, and had not wished to crowd out my main object by filling all my pages with artists' names and biographical facts and descriptions of innumerable unimportant works of art, it would have been necessary to demand far more space and to give many more illustrations than these two volumes will contain. Considering the vastness of the subject that I had ventured to cope with and the conditions under which I was placed, I felt that the only method by which I could produce anything useful to such readers as those I have mentioned would be to confine my attention to a limited number of examples of what I believed to be artistically great or historically important, and to treat my material in such a way that I should not need to mind being reprimanded for omissions by experts whose familiarity with certain periods, or certain forms, of art might induce them to ignore the object and nature of this book and to pick out such portions of it as suited them for microscopic examination and criticism.

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Each of the two volumes of which this work will consist contains rather more than 400 pages of text, an index, and 257 pages of illustrations, with over 300 different subjects. The first volume begins with the architecture, sculpture, and painting of ancient Egypt, and it ends with a chapter on the Quattrocento painters of the Early and Middle Italian Renaissance—precursors and, some of them, contemporaries of Raphael.

Part I of this first volume includes, besides the art of ancient Egypt, also that of ancient Babylonia, of Assyria, and of New Babylonia (which empire lasted till the archaic era of Greek art). I have added also some remarks on Phoenician art, which was perhaps an even more important factor in the evolution of European art than were the enormous structures and the colossi and other gigantic sculptures of Egypt and Assyria, or than the wondrous reliefs and paintings of these countries; for Tyrian and Sidonian art—however rare its relics are and however questionable the testimony of Homer may be—was indubitably of the same genus as Cretan and ‘Aegean’ art, and may therefore be regarded as one of the original components, if only an insignificant one, of that which by some wonderful influence was inspired with life and became—as the literature of Hellas and its philosophy also became—the living source of all that is most sublime and beautiful in the creations of human imagination.

It will be seen that, as is the case in many other Histories of Art, Hellas occupies in this book a large amount of space. This I deemed necessary not only on account of the great number of splendid works of architecture and sculpture that had to be described, but because I am convinced that what I have here affirmed concerning Greek art is truth. It by no means follows that one who holds such belief is an admirer of what is often justly despised as ‘classicism’ in later art, nor that he is a devotee of the so-called Classical Renaissance and unable to appreciate worthily the beauties and grandeurs of Gothic architecture and sculpture, or English landscape-painting, or even Oriental art. It means that for those who accept this affirmation the spirit of the best Hellenic art and literature seems to be perceptible in
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every truly grand or beautiful work, of whatever age or people it may be and however un-Hellenic in outward show, and that any so-called work of art that seems to them to contravene this spirit by vulgar grotesqueness, unrestraint, exaggeration, or other violation of the unwritten laws that guided the great artists and writers of Hellas, seems to be for them profitless and dead.

After a careful consideration of the Hellenic and 'Hellenistic' eras we turn to Etruscan art, and then to the Romans, whose mighty works of architecture are still to be seen in many countries of the then known world and whose multitudinous marble copies (mostly executed by late Hellenistic artists in Roman employ) of ancient bronzes and other statues have saved us from total ignorance of many of the greatest works of sculpture that human genius has ever produced.

Long ere Rome fell Roman art had degenerated miserably. It was then, in the days of the great persecutions, that Christian art began—at first in the subterranean obscurity of the Catacombs. But in the fourth century, after the 'Peace of the Church' had been proclaimed by Constantine, the era of the grand Christian basilicas commenced; and contemporaneously with this era began another—that of Byzantine architecture—which left vast buildings with mighty domes not only in Constantinople and Thrace, and in near Eastern lands, but also in Italy, and spread its influence to France and other European countries, and doubtless inspired later Arab architects to rear their splendid domed mosques and mausoleums, such as are to be seen even in India.

Meanwhile in Northern Italy arose, perhaps from some surviving germs of classic Roman art, a new architecture—the Romanesque—which, spreading westward and northward beyond the Alps, and perhaps also southward to Sicily (though maybe the Northmen brought it thither from France), developed new and beautiful forms in the Romanesque churches of Central and Southern France and of Spain and in the Norman architecture of Northern France and England.

Then came the invention, or adoption, of the pointed,

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or broken, arch and of ogival vaulting. Forthwith in Northern France and, somewhat later, in England, as well as in Spain and Germany and, later still, in Flanders, splendid cathedrals in the new style arose. This so-called Gothic era produced also painting and stained glass and sculpture of high excellence—of which French architectural statuary, of almost Greek dignity and beauty, bears away the palm.

Chapters I and II of Part VI treat the development of this Northern Gothic art, down to about 1500, in France, Spain, England, Germany, and Flanders.

Gothic architecture seems to have been first introduced into Italy about 1220, and a few notable buildings were erected in this Northern style. But Italian artists of the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries (the era of the Tuscan revival of sculpture and painting) instinctively, it seems, rejected the concealment of constructive form in Decorated Gothic—an error committed by the Italians themselves later in their barocco—so that the *stile arabo-tedesco di corrotto gusto*, as it is called by old Italian writers, would have died out entirely had not a new and genuinely Italian species of it arisen in which beauty of form was not disfigured or concealed by ornamentation, and whence flying buttresses and other such external outgrowths were banished. Of this genuine Italian Gothic the Florentine church of Santa Croce is a fine example.

The last two Parts of this volume treat of Italian architecture, sculpture, and painting during the Trecento and Quattrocento, so that Italian art is brought down to 1500—to which date the description given in earlier chapters of Gothic art in Northern countries and in Spain extends.

The second volume—which will be published as soon as possible after the first—regards its subject still more from national standpoints, seeing that by the year 1500 the Northern European nations had become more clearly differentiated and were developing individual characteristics in art far more striking than those that had existed during the great Romanesque and Gothic eras, while in Italy, destined to be united first in a later age, not a few cities had long possessed native schools of art almost as distinct as were those of the great transalpine nations.

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In the second volume, therefore, after continuing to treat Italian art also during the Cinquecento and Seicento from the standpoints of its numerous artistic centres, I proceed to consider separately Spanish, French, Flemish (and Dutch), German, and English art from about 1500 to about 1830. The artistically important periods of these various countries were by no means contemporaneous, nor in the same country were the periods coincident in which the best architecture and the best sculpture and the best painting flourished. It has therefore been necessary at times to disregard to some extent chronological sequence. For instance, though Spanish architecture up to about 1500 forms the subject of a chapter in the first volume, I have thought it advisable to reserve Spanish painting, as a whole, to be treated when we arrive at the epoch of the great Spanish painters, Velasquez and Murillo and some of their contemporaries and successors. Something similar is done in the case of French painting.

At the end of the second volume will be given, as a sort of supplement, an account of Oriental art (Indian, Chinese, and Japanese), seeing that it has exercised a certain influence on some of the European painters of modern times.

I take this opportunity of expressing once more my sincere thanks to Mr C. C. Wood for his most valuable revision of my work.

H. B. C.

VEVEY,
May 1922

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PART I

PRE-HELLENIC ART

CHAPTER I

EGYPT

IT is not difficult to intimate what one holds to be the characteristics essential for a work of art, pictorial, sculptural, or architectural, but it needs a large endowment of self-assurance to distinguish sharply between what is and what is not art. In an indulgent frame of mind one might wish to include in a history of art the rude attempts at decoration and building made by primitive man—the ornamental designs and figures of often cleverly imitated human beings and animals incised on bone or on pottery or painted on the walls of caves, and the cromlechs and dolmens and cyclopean walls of a later age. In a severely critical mood, on the other hand, some of us might long to relegate much that is generally called art to the realm of antiquarianism, or some other limbo, and to limit the term to that which for us seems to have a certain undefinable charm and meaning.

And I think that there is, difficult as it may be to define it, some radical difference between, let us say, Greek and Egyptian architecture and sculpture—a difference which sometimes makes one turn away, overcome by weariness and depression, from the gigantic edifices, the colossi, and the terribly realistic stone portraiture of Egypt, and to greet once more with intensified delight the sight of some Grecian temple or statue. At such moments we are perhaps inclined to exclaim that these strangely different effects could not be produced by things belonging to the same category as ‘works of art.’

However that may be, the edifices, the statues, and the (often vividly painted) bas-reliefs and mural decorations of

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Egypt are not only valuable for the antiquarian and the historian, and overwhelmingly impressive by reason of their size and other qualities, but have also an unquestionable interest for the lover of art, seeing that some of these buildings, still wondrously preserved, are probably the most ancient existent specimens of architecture—anyhow of architectural architecture—and some of these statues are perhaps the earliest existent products of that statuary art which in a later age attained such perfection in Greece.

The relics that survive of the prehistoric period¹ are artistically of very small value; they reveal, as Sir Gaston Maspero, a great authority, tells us, merely a facility in seizing living forms, such as is often found among primitive races; therefore, as the object of this book is not to investigate origins and accumulate information but to offer aid toward the true appreciation and full enjoyment of what is really important in art, I shall pass over this primitive era and, after taking a rapid survey of the three (or five?) millenniums or so during which Egypt was ruled by some thirty different dynasties, shall limit myself to a few of the most impressive and interesting buildings, sculptures, and paintings, and endeavour to point out some of their main characteristics and to intimate the philosophy of life which through all these long ages inspired these strange and, for many minds, depressing productions.

The following rough outline will help the reader of the subsequent pages. In order to see how the dynasties may possibly fit in with what we imagine we know of the ancient Cretans, 'Aegaeans,' Mycenaeans, Trojans, and Assyrians, it might be useful to turn to page 72 of my *Ancient Greece*. It should, however, be remembered that the dates of the earlier dynasties given by some writers differ by about two thousand years from those given by others. So, after studying the main facts, we shall be able to proceed without troubling ourselves too much about exact chronology and chronological sequence, and shall examine successively the five eras indicated in our plan, deviating now and then into questions of general interest.

¹ That is, roughly speaking, before the founding of Dynasty I by Menes, whose date is by some given as *c.* 5500, by others as 4777, by others again as *c.* 3500 B.C.

EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES

- 'Thinite' era of art { Dyn. I-II (c. 3500-3000)
Menes, the first king, founds Memphis, whither later (c. 3000?) the court, hitherto at This, in Upper Egypt, moves.
- 'Memphite' era
Great decline in art after Dynasty VI { Dyn. III-XI (c. 3000-2000)
The first four kings of Dynasty IV were the great pyramid-builders—viz., Seneferu, Khufu, Khafra, and Menkerah, the last three called by Herodotus (ii, 129) Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus. The third and fifth of Dynasty VI were Pepi I and II.
- '1st Theban' era { Dyn. XII-XVII (c. 2000-1580)
Thebes (called by Homer 'hundred-gated,' i.e., perhaps 'with a hundred pylons of temples') in Upper Egypt becomes the capital. Amenemhat III, of Dynasty XII, constructs the vast Labyrinth, visited and described by Herodotus. Abraham in Egypt c. 1850 (?). Hyksos (Shepherd Kings) conquer Egypt. Horses and chariots introduced by them (?). Joseph in Egypt under last Hyksos king (?).
Aahmes conquers Hyksos, and founds
- { Dyn. XVIII (c. 1580-1350)
Thothmes III invades Mesopotamia (c. 1500). Amenhotep III founds Luxor (c. 1400). Great wealth and splendour. Connexions with 'Aegaeon' civilization. Amenhotep IV, or Akhnaton (1375-58).
- { Dyn. XIX (c. 1350-1200)
Seti I and his son, the great Rameses II (Sesostris), the Pharaoh of Moses' infancy (?). Menephtah. (The Exodus, c. 1300?)
- '2nd Theban' era ('New Empire') { Dyn. XX (c. 1200-1100)
Rameses III to Rameses XIV. 'People of the Sea' (driven south by Achaeans?) invade Egypt, but defeated by Rameses III, c. 1180. (Traditional date of fall of Troy, 1184.) The high priests of the god Amen (Ammon) now rule as kings of the Thebaid; while North Egypt is ruled by the 'Tanite' Pharaohs of
- { Dyn. XXI (c. 1100-950).
- { Dyn. XXII-XXV
Pharaoh Shishak takes Jerusalem. Then great decline in power. Aethiopians overrun the country. About 674 Assurhaddon of Assyria conquers Egypt, which is liberated by Libyan prince of Saïs, Psamtik I (Psammetichos), with help of Ionian 'men of bronze.' Other 'Saïte' kings (Dynasty XXVI) follow—e.g., Pharaoh Necho (who leads his army as far as the Euphrates, but is defeated by Nebuchadnezzar) and Apries (Hophra of the Bible) and Aahmes, well known by his Greek name 'Amasis.' Then Persian kings (Cambyses to Darius II) are liege-lords of Egypt, and are followed by other native dynasties, until Alexander the Great conquers the land, and his successors, the Ptolemies, seat themselves on the throne of the Pharaohs (323 to 30). As early as about 650 the Greeks had founded Naucratis and Daphnae in Egypt (*Ancient Greece*, pp. 112, 143, 144), and after the establishment of the Ptolemies Egyptian art, although continuing to exist, is closely connected with Hellenistic, Roman, and Arabian art.
- So-called 'Saïte' era, from c. 950 to conquest of Egypt by Alexander in 332 {

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(a) Thinite Era (c. 3500-3000)

The transition from the so-called prehistoric age of Egypt into the period in which first anything resembling a work of art was produced is almost imperceptible. Proofs are not forthcoming to show whether it was due to foreign penetration, peaceful or other, or to internal development during many generations, but we find ourselves, as it were suddenly, face to face with works of architects and sculptors who possessed no mean technique. Where before there were merely rude attempts there is now accomplishment. In this Thinite era, before the removal of the court from This to Memphis, are observable the same motives and the same philosophy of life (if so we may call it) which find indistinct expression in the artless products of the primitive Egyptians. From this period onward for three—perhaps four or five—thousand years almost every important work of architecture and sculpture was mainly inspired by what perhaps we may describe as an overwhelming dread of annihilation and a boundless longing to secure *material immortality*—a longing due to the difficulty of conceiving pure spiritual existence.¹ These, or similar, feelings account for the fact that most of the important relics of these milleniums are either gigantic ‘houses of eternity’—temples or tombs intended to defy time—or statues, often enormous and of the most indestructible material and form.

The relics of the Thinite era consist of some massive constructions in sun-dried brick which look like fortresses, some great quadrangular tombs, and some traces of small temples, or rather shrines with rectangular courts (like a Greek *τέμενος*), pictures of which are found in contemporary hieroglyphs. It is the tombs that are specially striking. In Egypt, as in Greece, the gods were always given much grander dwellings than living men,² but in these early days in Egypt, and indeed also in the era of the Pyramids, the

¹ The doctrine of Metamorphosis, or Metempsychosis, derived from Egypt by Pythagoras and spiritualized by Plato, is an expression of the same feelings.

² The huge palaces of Assyria show a different attitude of mind. The Pharaohs were content with fragile brick dwellings lasting only one generation. Diodorus Siculus says the Egyptians called ordinary houses ‘hospices’ and tombs ‘houses eternal.’

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houses of the illustrious dead were far vaster than those of any of the gods. The tombs of Thinite kings and notables—as the huge, fortress-like sepulchre of an early Thinite prince at Nakâdah—consist of a central hall for the body, surrounded by a number of chambers in which, before access from outside was blocked up, furniture and provisions were accumulated to serve the dead (the ‘double’ of the deceased) in the new life. Ikons (statuettes and designs) of the person were placed near the body to afford a material shape that might be used by the ‘double’—and, of course, the more exact the portrait in features and form and clothes, the more easily the ‘double’ could slip into it—and similar ikons of his servants, often engaged in their usual occupations (flour-grinding, etc.), were supposed to supply him with food. On the inner walls of such tombs (*mastabas*) we find also designs incised and painted in red ochre of hunting and agricultural scenes, the idea evidently being that the picturing of these scenes in material made them actually existent for the ‘double’ and afforded him not only occupation and pleasure, but also food—for a ‘double’ could die of starvation and thus lose all his surviving vitality. Even the gods were kept nourished by pictures and by ikons of attendant *Nomes*.¹

Extant Thinite sculptures, of the period before the removal of the court to Memphis, are scarce and unimportant—although, indeed, some would assign the Sphinx to this era! Then suddenly, as it were, we come to a great multitude of statues and reliefs showing a mastery in mere technique, perhaps equal to that of the Greeks, and that too in an age that preceded the days of Pheidias by perhaps more centuries than those that divide us from the building of the Parthenon. Before passing on to this Memphite era, it will be well to make a few general remarks on the subject of Egyptian sculpture.

The persistence of the same motives has been noted.

¹ Egyptian ‘mentality’ is well exemplified by the fact that models of the dung-beetle (scarab) were sometimes buried in thousands with a dead body in order to increase its chances of resurrection; for the scarab, or rather the ball of dung containing its eggs, was regarded as a symbol of *anastasis*, and the beetle itself was identified with a sun-god because it rolled its ball of dung round ‘as the sun’s globe is rolled across the sky’ (Budge).

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In the course of many generations the Egyptian artist, possibly affected by foreign influences, had, says Maspero, replaced direct observation by decorative schemes and formulae accepted in the workshop—a process which by ceaseless repetition allowed him to acquire a wonderful technical skill, but which was, one may well imagine, fatal to all true art. Some fifteen attitudes seem to have been permitted (seated, standing, squatting, kneeling, etc.), perhaps somewhat varied in the different schools connected with the great centres, Memphis, Thebes, Abydos, and Saïs. In the case of deities and ceremonies, represented especially in bas-reliefs, the motives and attitudes became in course of time (during and after the architecturally wonderful second Theban era) so stereotyped and so purely symbolical and subservient to orthodox formalism that they turned into mere decoration and lost entirely what higher artistic qualities they may have once possessed.¹ In the case of the statues, which are for the most part portraits, there is noticeable the development of something more than imitative realism, namely the acquisition of the power to depict character, so that we have the features of the individual made expressive of certain mental attitudes. And it is just here that one may observe whether Egyptian sculpture, with all its wondrous realism² and impressiveness, fulfils the function of really great art: for instead of perpetuating in grand and noble forms the affections and the sublime aspirations and imaginations of free human nature, its highest attainment seems to be to immortalize in massive blocks of imperishable granite the overweening and brutal arrogance of despotic power and a futile defiance of death and oblivion. It was a true instinct that made Shelley seize this characteristic of Egyptian sculpture in his fine sonnet:

I met a traveller from an antique land
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. . . . Near them, on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,

¹ The statuettes (often wooden) of the same era are much more varied and natural in attitude.

² A weird, realistic effect (at times disconcerting to native excavators) is in some later Egyptian sculptures produced by the eyes, formed of white and coloured stone or crystals and fringed with metal eyelashes.

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And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that the sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed :
And on the pedestal these words appear :
' My name is Ozymandias, king of kings :
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair !'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

This intense longing for an eternity of existence, for which they seem to have believed necessary an imperishable material form, not only made Egyptian tombs—rectangular mastabas and huge, broad-based pyramids—assume the forms most favourable to stable equilibrium and durability, but accounts for the massive, cubic, simply and rigidly outlined, straight-backed, and often colossal portrait statues, with arms adherent to the body and legs forming a part of the solid block of the throne.¹ Another characteristic which lends Egyptian statues a somewhat stolid uniformity is what is called their 'frontality,' which means that they invariably face one perfectly squarely, and look straight forward, so that the face and body can be divided into two exactly equal parts by a perpendicular line. One more fact may here be noted, namely that, although the statues of ordinary mortals show various attitudes, those of kings and other princely persons have 'a gravity carried to the verge of hieratic immobility . . . the chin held high, the bust upright, the thighs parallel, and the feet firmly planted,' representing the man realistically as he had been on the days of ceremonious receptions. We also find later statues in which the person is evidently rejuvenated, the features idealized, and the vesture glorified—the idea of nudity, such as we accept in Greek and other sculpture, having been, or having become in course of time, inconsistent with dignity, besides perhaps offering a rather bare dwelling-place for the 'double.'

¹ Compare ancient Greek statues, which were evidently influenced by Egyptian, or Cretan, art (*Ancient Greece*, p. 222). Perhaps difficulties caused by the very hard materials were a reason. The wooden and the later bronzen Egyptian statues often have free limbs, as also the bas-reliefs. When the figure is represented as walking (especially to be found in wooden and bronzen statuettes) the left leg is almost always advanced and the foot placed flat on the ground.

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(b) Memphite Era (c. 3000-2000)

Probably during the Fourth Dynasty, the first king of which was Seneferu, say about 3000 B.C.—although 5000 B.C. may be nearer the truth—the royal court, perhaps for political reasons, was moved from This to the plain of Gizeh, where Menes, it is said, had already founded the city of Memphis, not far from where Cairo now stands. Thither came doubtless the artists of the Thinite court, and the supposition is at least ingenious that their advent aroused the much greater latent artistic powers of the Memphite natives, so that, although the old motives and methods still persisted, very much more ambitious work was now produced. The era of great Memphite art seems to have lasted only till about the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Then a long period of decline took place, during which, till about the Eleventh, comparatively little, and that mostly of inferior quality, was produced, ‘betraying,’ says Maspero, ‘the hand of the unskilful and unintelligent artisan.’

The architectural relics of the Memphite era consist almost entirely of tombs—very numerous mastabas and the pyramids. The only other important building is the basement of a great temple in the vicinity of the Sphinx, exceedingly interesting as being the most ancient specimen known of architraval construction. In connexion with the tombs we have a very large amount of bas-reliefs, frequently coloured. Besides this we have some fine sculpture. Let us therefore consider these three subjects in turn.

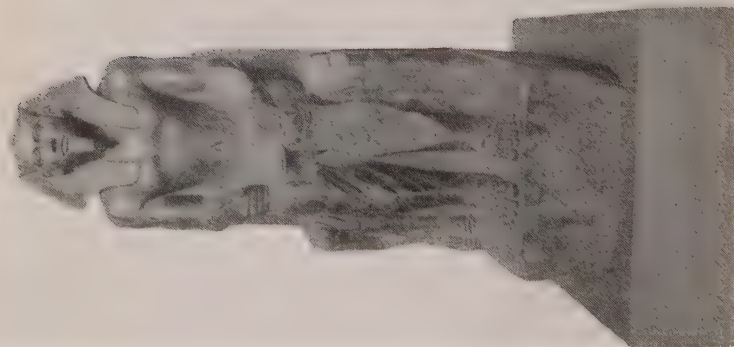
Mastabas and Pyramids. Mastabas are so called by the modern Egyptians because their usual form, an oblong-rectangular block with its sides slightly sloping upward, reminds them of a ‘shop-counter.’ These tombs vary very much in size. Some are only a few yards long and wide and ten or fifteen feet high; others are huge. The older and simpler mastaba consists of a chapel, and sometimes rooms for storing images and supplies required by the ‘double,’ built over a subterranean burial-chamber, the only access to which—a perpendicular shaft or sloping passage—was blocked up as soon as the body had been deposited. In course of time persons of rank and wealth



2. THE STEP PYRAMID OF SAKKARA



3. PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH



4. THE 'GREAT CHEPHREN'

Cairo

Photo C. T. Campion, Esq.



5. MYCERINUS

c. 3000 B.C.

Cairo. Cast in British Museum

Photo Mansell

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erected vast edifices containing colonnaded courts and a labyrinth of rooms as well as the chapel, or shrine; and both the upper edifice and the lower sepulchre are often found richly decorated with bas-reliefs. Many of the Memphite Pharaohs, besides the pyramid-builders, constructed for themselves very large mastabas, mostly on the edge of the Libyan desert and placed so as to command the valley of Egypt and to be seen—against the sunset—day after day by those voyaging up and down the Nile.

A curious feature of some of these tombs is a false doorway let into the wall in order to serve for the exits and entrances of the 'double,' the original door having been strongly walled up to prevent marauders, human or other, from disturbing the body and its images, etc. In some cases a statue of the deceased stands in the doorway, representing the 'double' issuing forth for a visit to the outer world; or his face is seen peering out over the door or the lintel. These false doors and the adjoining walls are often covered with inscriptions giving the dead man's names and titles, etc., and with bas-relief portraits. In later mastabas the false door is often only faintly indicated and serves the purpose of a tombstone (like a Greek *stele*).

The great pyramid-builders were the first four Pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty, namely Seneferu, Khufu (called by Herodotus Cheops), Khafra (Chephren), and Menkerah (Mycerinus). There were many—some say seventy-seven—pyramids, more or less complete. Of these we will confine ourselves to a few of the most important. The first was possibly that which in the Greek age still existed at Kokomé, and was said to have been built by the fourth king of the First Dynasty. The most ancient still existing is perhaps ¹ the so-called Step Pyramid, built by Zoser, of the Third Dynasty, at Sakkara, as king of Northern Egypt. It has four great terraces (like those of Dante's Mount of Purgatory), and is rather a super-mastaba than a true pyramid. Then there is the 'False Pyramid' of Medûm, erected by Seneferu, the first of the Fourth Dynasty, as king of Upper (Southern)

¹ One of the big Sakkara pyramids is sometimes attributed to a king of the Second Dynasty.

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Egypt. This too is transitional, not being a true pyramid—for its core is a real hill! The most ancient real pyramid known to us seems to be one built at Dahshur (south of Memphis) by this same Seneferu, as king of Lower (Northern) Egypt. Then came Cheops and Chephren and Mycerinus (to call them by their more familiar classic names), whose three mighty pyramids near Gizeh—in the Necropolis of the vanished Memphis—represent the only Wonder of the World which still exists of the famous Seven;¹ for, as an Arab writer said in the twelfth century, ‘All the world fears Time, but Time fears the Pyramids.’ The greatest of them, that of Cheops, has lost—besides its ancient granite casing—only about twenty feet of its height, and is still more than twenty feet higher than the dome of St Peter’s. As regards art the most important matter in connexion with the pyramids is the decoration and the contents of the central sepulchral chambers which have been discovered within them; but here, as we are considering Memphite architecture, and as neither rhetoric nor theory has ever proved of much use toward solving the question how the ancient Egyptians were able to construct these mighty piles, we need only note once more the ingenious architectural and other devices by which the resting-places of the dead were concealed. Not only do we find a labyrinth of blind corridors and passages massively blocked or ending in seemingly impassable chasms, but in one case, that of the pyramid of Mycerinus, when after great toil and trouble a very magnificent sepulchral chamber had been reached, it was found to be unfinished and to contain no coffin or sarcophagus; and the quest was naturally thought to be at an end. Then, luckily—from our point of view, if not from that of the ‘doubles’ in question—was discovered a cranny; and this cranny served as a clue to the *real* hiding-place of the mummies, images, and treasures!

Bas-reliefs and Painting. While the belief prevailed that the dead, and to some extent even the gods, required material forms in order to perpetuate their existence, such

¹ According to the elder Pliny they were: the Pyramids, the hanging gardens of Babylon, the walls of Babylon, the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the tomb of Mausolus.

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forms as consisted merely of surface colour were naturally not considered sufficiently permanent. In the case of 'houses of eternity' (tombs and temples) colour was therefore almost always at first used in conjunction with bas-relief.¹ In a later age, when this belief was no longer held so strictly—when some vague possibility of immaterial existence was allowed—painting came, to some extent, to its rights, at least as a decorative art. But a long servitude had so enslaved its spirit that even then it remained voluntarily the vassal of sculpture, imitating reliefs and not venturing to evolve pictorial methods—*e.g.*, modelling by shade, perspective, etc. In the painted reliefs of the Memphite era the combination of colour and carving produces sometimes admirable effects of modelling, but as a rule the forms are sharply outlined in red or black and unshaded surfaces of colour are used, not artistically but merely conventionally and often in order to indicate certain natural objects—the sea being suggested by blue or 'blue-black' (as in Homer), grass and foliage by vivid green, sand and corn by yellow spotted with red, while men are painted dark brown and women yellow or whitish.² A most surprising and beautiful exception to the general inartistic conventionality is offered by the well-known *Geese of Medûm*, found in the tomb of King Seneferu—a fragment apparently of a considerable painting of equal merit. Such a work must have been a great rarity, if we may judge from its exceptional character amid the countless pictures, mostly coloured bas-reliefs, that still cover many square miles of surface in Egyptian tombs and temples.

In temples, where the persons and legendary lives of deities and religious ceremonies are the usual subjects, artists were evidently subjected to the rigorous control of the priests (the central source of whose authority was the hierarchy at Heliopolis), and during thousands of years were obliged to make use of the old orthodox conceptions of divinity, orthodox formalism in ritual, and orthodox ceremonial attitudes; for every gesture was of supreme

¹ It was perhaps used freely in palaces and other such 'hospices.'

² As on ancient Cretan and Greek vases, where women are chalky white (*Ancient Greece*, pp. xvi, 21, 204).

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importance.¹ This fact accounts for the uniformity of subject, motive, and attitude that wearies us so by its endless monotony in the innumerable bas-reliefs and paintings of Egyptian temples. And in connexion with this survival of ancient inartistic elements in what we may call the sacred art of Egypt is to be noted a childish device very common—so common as to be called the ‘Memphite formula’—in the pictures of deities: the face is given in profile but has an eye that fronts one fully, and the legs are given in profile but are appended to a square-set body. Some of the painted reliefs of deities are very large and are furnished with enamel eyes which produce a weird effect. Lastly we may note that in these representations of deities symbolical colours are sometimes used, as in early Christian art. Thus the Sea-god Usueri has a robe with undulating blue stripes.

In tombs the artist had more liberty. He could depict scenes of hunting, fishing, agriculture, battle, triumphs, and so on, such as would prove useful and pleasurable to the ‘double.’ Hence we have many sepulchral pictures of this era—the earliest at Medûm and the later in the vicinity of the great pyramids—that give us very interesting representations of ancient Egyptian life; and some of these pictures show remarkable skill in delineation, no little imagination in conception, and at times a touch of humour, such as makes the whole world kin.

The early painted reliefs contain usually only a few figures, sometimes carefully finished, but in course of time the scenes became crowded and, as the artists had very little skill in composition and no knowledge of perspective, the mutual relations of the figures and their relative sizes and distances are often unrecognizable. Attempts are made to remedy this by childish devices. Thus, instead of indicating distance by perspective diminution, the artist would divide the picture into three or more horizontal stages, the lowest presenting the foreground scene and the highest containing those objects which in perspective would be seen in diminished size in the background.

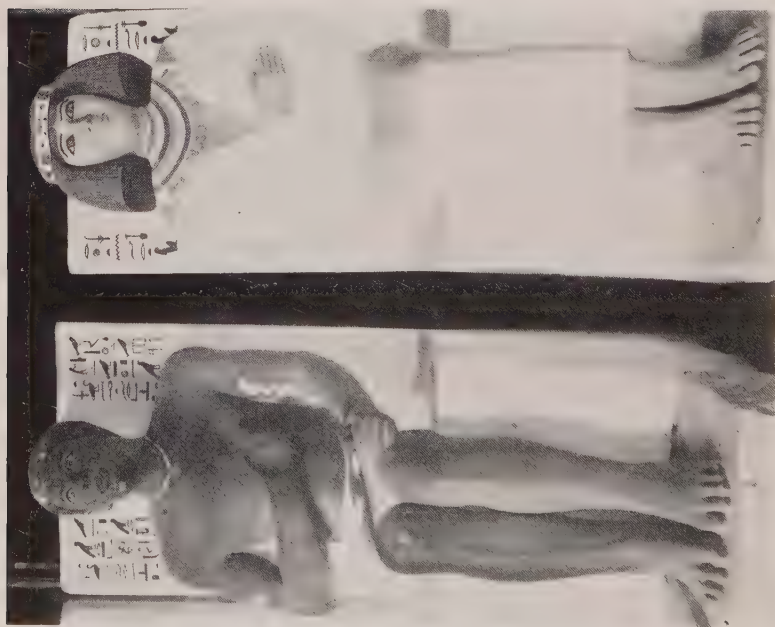
¹ Compare Byzantine painting. It was affirmed at a Council of Nicaea that ‘what creates a picture is not the invention of the artist, but the law and tradition of the Church.’



Fresco of a Bird-catcher
Eighteenth dynasty (?)
Photo Mansell



FROM TOMB OF PTAH-HOTEP
Memphite era



8. PRINCE RAHETEP AND PRINCESS NEFERET

Cairo

Photo Bonfils



9. FALSE DOOR OF TOMB WITH PORTRAIT
FIGURE OF TITA, A PRIEST OF HIGH RANK

From Sakkarā. In British Museum

Photo Mansell

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Sculpture. Observations on the nature and characteristics of early Egyptian sculpture have already been made. It remains to indicate some of the chief statues that are believed to date from the Memphite era (*c.* 3000–2000). The earlier are not in granite but limestone (when not of wood or bronze) and are usually coloured. Of Thinite or very early Memphite workmanship exist various specimens, such as the *Lady Nesi* of the Louvre. Some of these have a family likeness to the *Artemis of Delos* and to the famous archaic female statues (called ‘*The Aunts*’) excavated in the Athenian Acropolis. Then there is in the Cairo Museum the very fine early coloured limestone monument, of the time of Seneferu, representing Rahetep and his consort Neferet (Fig. 8). The lady especially is an amazing example of realistic art—the colour and the eyes of enamel adding to the effect. In soft stone, for the most part coloured, or in wood or metal,¹ we have many statues, large and small, of ordinary persons in divers attitudes—squatting scribes (a famous one in the Louvre), crouching cooks and bakers, kneeling corn-grinders, a whole kitchen full of figurines, processions of bearers, a concert of puppet musicians, marching soldiers, and so on. But, if we omit the Sphinx,² by far the finest sculptures attributed by some of the best authorities to this era are the magnificent statues, some of great size, of Chephren, of Mycerinus, Ra-Nefer, and other Pharaohs. The ‘great seated Chephren’ in the Cairo Museum (Fig. 4) was discovered by Mariette in the so-called Temple of the Sphinx. It is carved, as are others of these grand figures, out of igneous granitic rock (in this case diorite) so hard that one cannot explain how it was possible at that age to work such a material. On this account, and because the execution seems too masterly for the Memphite era, it is supposed by some that these statues may be copies of Memphite limestone originals made in the Saïte era. But the difficulty as to the

¹ The bronzes of this era have usually the head and extremities in cast metal and the remainder formed of plates riveted together. Also the wooden statues and statuettes are often composed of numerous pieces. (Large timber was a rarity in Egypt.)

² The Sphinx is carved out of a limestone ridge. It very possibly dates from the age of the great pyramid-builders. Some assert that it is a portrait of Amenemhat III, who reigned about a thousand years later. Others degrade it to the New Empire (Eighteenth Dynasty).

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working of the intensely hard stone, which no ordinary steel will cut, is not removed by this supposition.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that the names of the old Egyptian sculptors and painters are with one or two questionable exceptions unknown, for they did not sign their works. The explanation of this is probably that they were regarded not as we regard a great artist, not as a genius who claims present and future recognition, but as a mere workman employed to produce portraits and statues to eternalize the 'doubles' of the dead; and to put his name on what was the property of a 'double' might have caused difficulties. On the other hand, the names of many ancient Egyptian architects have survived, as for instance that of Bakenkhonsu, who was the builder of Thebes under the great Rameses II, as we are told by Rameses' monument in the Munich Museum.

(c) First Theban Era (c. 2000-1580)

The Pharaohs of Memphis after about a thousand years (some would say two thousand or even more) lost their hold on Upper Egypt, which fell into the power of Theban nobles, and these ultimately conquered Memphis (c. 2000) and set up what is called the Old Empire of Thebes. This empire lasted several centuries. Then Egypt was conquered by a foreign (nomad?—Canaanite?) race and ruled for a time by so-called Shepherd Kings (Hyksos). These Hyksos about the year 1580 were expelled by Aahmes, who re-established the Theban monarchy, thus founding what is called the New Empire.

The First Theban era of Egyptian art was a transitional period. Although Thebes was the political capital, Memphis remained the chief artistic centre. Of **architecture** the relics are rare and comparatively unimportant, many temples of this period having been demolished by later kings—perhaps some by the Shepherd Kings.¹ For a time pyramids and the quadrangular mastabas, or combinations of both, were

¹ Even the mighty Labyrinth constructed by Amenemhat III near Lake Moeris, which according to Herodotus (ii, 148) had three thousand rooms, has utterly disappeared.



10. SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS OF CHEOPS AND CHEPHREN

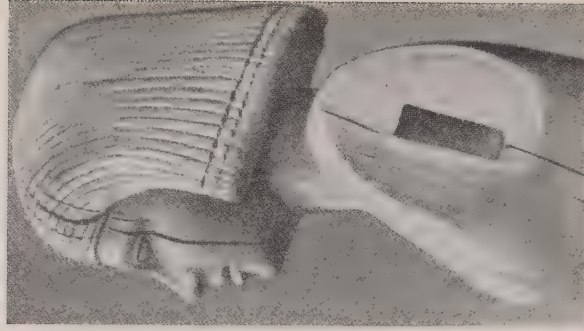
Photo P. Dittrich



11. LIMESTONE BUST OF WOMAN
Florence, Museo Archeologico
 Photo Bregé



12. SQUATTING SCRIBE
 Memphite statue in coloured limestone
Louvre



13. MEMPHITE WOODEN
 STATUE

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used as tombs, but ere long the *hypogeum*—*i.e.*, a subterranean tomb, sometimes of great size, excavated in the side of a limestone ridge—began to prevail. These hypogea, of which there are fine examples at Beni-Hasan in Central Egypt, consist usually of a portico, with columns (and, later, huge statues) carved out of the rock, behind which there is a colonnaded hall containing the portrait statues for the use of the 'double.' It was seemingly at this epoch that obelisks (a Greek word meaning 'spits' or 'needles') first became common. One of the earliest was probably a square brick tower set on the top of a pyramid near a temple of the Sun-god (Ra) built by the Memphite king Ra-enuser; and we are told by Sir Gaston Maspero that the obelisk was not only erected in honour of the Sun-god, but 'was the god himself'—doubtless a sacred pillar, representing deity, such as we find in ancient Cretan art and in the Lion Gate of Mycenae (Fig. 31; *Ancient Greece*, pp. 10, 50). In this first Theban era Sesostri I rebuilt the temple of Ra at On or Heliopolis, the 'City of the Sun,' near the vertex of the Delta, and set up there two obelisks, one of which is still standing there. Another, as its hieroglyphs tell us, was erected by Usertesen of the Twelfth Dynasty. Ere long such mighty tapering monoliths, covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, were used frequently as impressive adjuncts to tombs and temples, and are found often, as we shall see, flanking the broad two-towered pylons of the huge temples of the New Empire—found also to-day in distant Northern capitals of great nations whose inhabitants in this First Theban era were still savages.¹

The **paintings** of this period (for we no longer find only painted reliefs) show very considerable skill in the delineation of living forms, *e.g.*, in pictures of battles, sieges, races, war-dances, etc., and especially in a series of a hundred and twenty wrestling bouts that adorn the hypogeum at Beni-Hasan. The **sculpture** of the era offers this problem: if the great statues (as those of Chephren) described in the last section are really Memphite, it seems strange that now, centuries later, when a hard stone was used, it was apparently necessary to revert

¹ The greatest of these obelisks, that of Thothmes III, is in front of the Lateran basilica at Rome, 105 (originally 109) feet high.

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to far simpler attitudes and sometimes to have recourse to such devices as giving the statue the support of a wall or pillar at its back (*e.g.*, *The Twin Statues* at Cairo and *Sebek-emsaf* at Vienna). There are a few fine Pharaoh statues of this age, such as those of Sesostris I and Amenemhat III at Cairo, and Sebek-Hetep in the Louvre. None of them, however, approaches the dignity and sculpturesque repose of the Chephren and Mycerinus statues.

(d) Second Theban Era (*c.* 1580–950)

Tombs and statues have hitherto been the most important relics. The **temples** of the New Empire will now occupy our attention, for many of them still exist in a wonderful state of preservation, mostly on the site of Thebes and in Southern Egypt. The anxiety to preserve a material form for the ‘double’ caused the dead to be hidden away ever more secretly, while the ‘eternal houses’ of the gods rose ever higher and became more spacious and open to the light. The new impulse toward the erection of huge and magnificent temples may possibly have been due to the Shepherd Kings, for although these Hyksos belonged probably to a nomad race they were apparently, like the Arabs, capable of high culture and in inventiveness and vigour more than the equals of the Egyptians, seeing that they taught them, it is said, the use of the horse, the chariot, the quiver, and mail-armour.

Let us first look at the main characteristics of Egyptian architecture and then turn to some of the chief temples of the New Empire, the founder of which was Aahmes and some of the great monarchs of which were Thothmes III, Amenhotep III, Queen Hatshepsut, the famous Seti I and his more famous son, Rameses II (Sesostris)—the Pharaoh of Moses’ childhood—Menepthah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and Rameses III, who defeated the invading ‘People of the Sea’ (the ‘Aegaeans’).

The oldest Egyptian edifices, such as the so-called Temple of the Sphinx, were erected on the architraval principle, and this principle persisted through thousands of years. The arch and the vault were known in Egypt as they were

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in Greece even in the Mycenaean age, but the system of supporting weight by horizontal monoliths resting on columns was preferred and became a distinctive characteristic in both cases; and certainly in Egypt this horizontal feature of the vast temples seems to harmonize with their natural surroundings. The Egyptian column was at first quadrangular; then, the angles being shorn off, it received eight facets, and by a similar process sixteen. This sixteen-sided column (of which Karnak affords fine examples, and which was used even by the Ptolemies) has some resemblance to the fluted Doric column, and when it is topped by a flat abacus the resemblance at first sight is so striking that the famous pioneer in Egyptology, Champollion, gave it the name 'Proto-Doric'; but, as in all genuine Egyptian buildings, there is a total absence of those delicately calculated proportions which lend such exquisite beauty to the best Greek architecture.¹ Besides the Proto-Doric there are several types of column and capital that are found in endless, arbitrary, and often very ugly and ill-proportioned varieties.² The columns of the New Empire and later times are generally round (not monoliths), sometimes square, with attached colossal figures (not real Atlantes, but constructively inactive), sometimes again bulbous, and sometimes fascicular—*i.e.*, imitative of a bundle of gigantic lotus stalks. One very unattractive type of capital imitates a huge bud of the lotus (Nile lily); another takes its form from the crest of a palm, the short fronds bending outward under the weight of the abacus; a third type is like the upright bell of a gigantic campanula; lastly, there is the square 'Hathor' capital, from two—sometimes from four—sides of which juts forth the repulsive face of the goddess.

The temple of the New Empire was usually composed thus. A long avenue of sphinxes, or rams—watchers against the approach of evil influences—led up to a simple pylon (or great gate), through which one entered into a vast court surrounded with colonnades. Fronting one

¹ *L'art égyptien n'est pas chiffré* (Perrot). Compare Tuscan Doric.

² At Philae the numerous temples of the Saïte era contain scarcely two quite similar capitals. Merely for sake of variety the bell capital was even reversed, so as to look like a helmet, and the column was made to taper *downward*. (This is found also at Mycenae.)

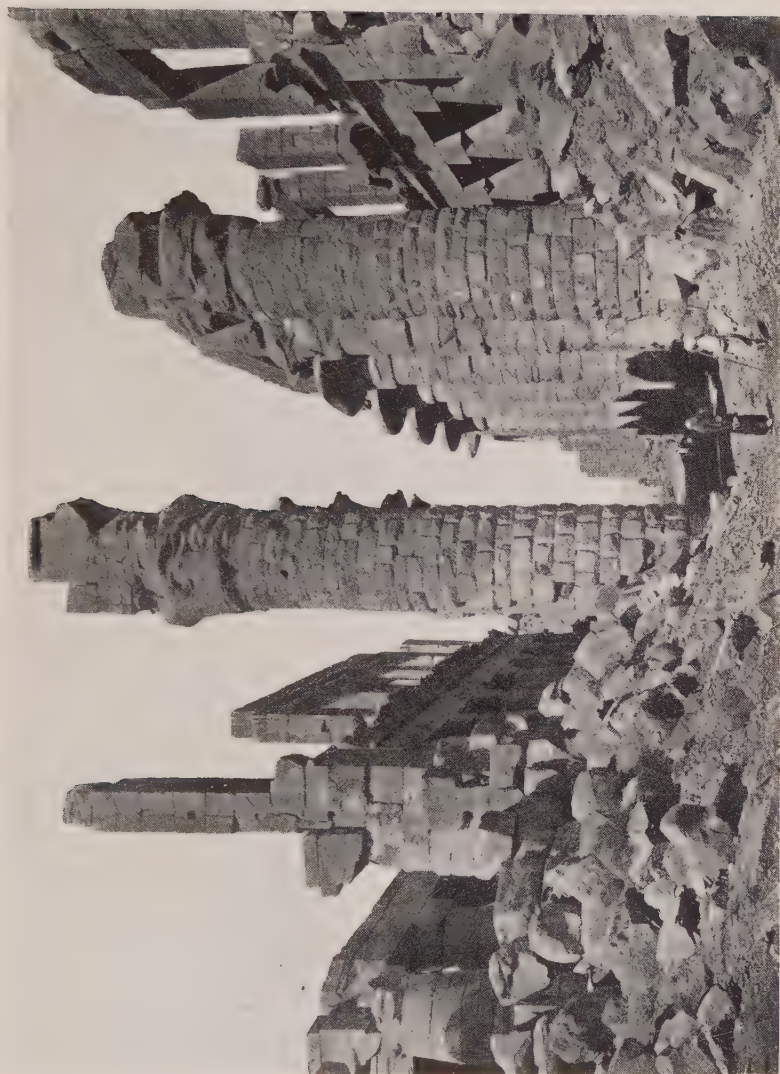
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on the farther side was the portal of the temple itself, a great square pylon between two massive rectangular towers with sloping walls, and in front of each of these towers stood an obelisk and often the colossal image of the god. Having passed through this pylon one found oneself in the hypostyle hall—sometimes of immense size and crowded with a forest, as it were, of mighty columns upholding the roof. At the farther end of this great hall was the sanctuary—a small chapel or shrine like the *naos* of a Greek temple—and various chambers used as vestries, schools, libraries, etc.; there was also generally a sacred grove, and a sacred lake.¹ In some cases later Pharaohs greatly increased the number of the courts and chambers and built numerous additional pylons outside the original one; in the great complex of temples at Karnak, for instance, there are, says Maspero, six from west to east and four from north to south.

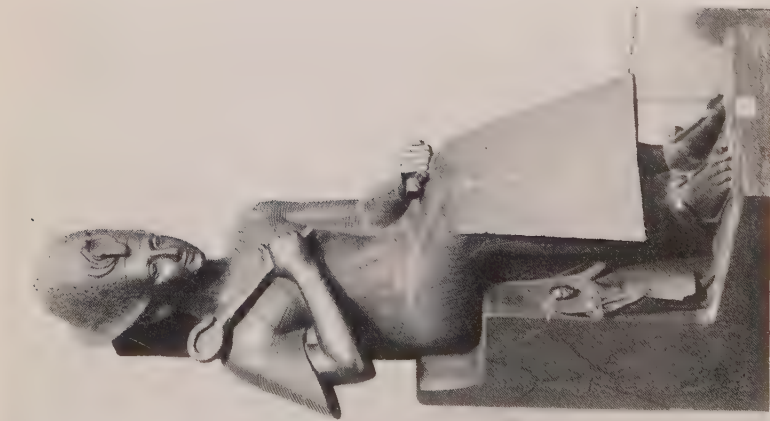
The greatest assemblage of huge ruins in the world is that formed by the ancient temples at Luxor and Karnak—relics of the mighty ‘hundred-pylon’d’ city of Thebes, on the east bank of the Nile some three hundred miles south of Cairo. The temples at Luxor, begun by Amenhotep III (Eighteenth Dynasty) and much enlarged by Rameses II, contained sanctuaries of the deities Amen (Ammon), Maat, and Khonsu, who formed the Trinity specially worshipped at Thebes. The principal ruin, which contains a huge group of ‘lotus’ columns, is connected by an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, more than a mile long, with Karnak, where there is a vast complex of about ten ruined temples, built to the same three gods mainly by the Pharaohs of this Second Theban era.² Perhaps for mere immensity no edifice in the world

¹ The general scheme of the ancient Egyptian temple seems to have been adopted by the Assyrians and Jews and through Crete or Asia Minor to have reached the Hellenic world.

² The temple of Amen was perhaps begun during the Twelfth Dynasty (First Theban era), and additions were made even by Caesar Augustus, so that its building lasted, say, at least two thousand years. The abandonment of Thebes by Amenhotep (Amenophis) IV, his destruction of many memorials of Amen-worship, and his attempt to introduce that of a One True God, Aton by name, are told graphically in Weigall’s *Akhnaton*—the name adopted by Amenhotep, viz., ‘The Glory of Aton.’ This god (whose name is probably identical with *Adonis*) was conceived by the young war-hating Pharaoh as the Lord of Light and Life and Love—a kind of First Cause and Spirit of the Universe. The story of this un-



14. THE HALL OF COLUMNS, KARNAK
Photo F. Frith & Co., Ltd.



15. RAMESES II, 'THE GREAT'

c. 1350

Turin, Museo d'Antichità

Photo Brogi



16. SETI II

British Museum

Photo Mansell

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is so impressive as the Karnak temple of Amen, with its enormous hypostyle hall (60 yards by 110) filled with a hundred and thirty-four gigantic columns, some of them 80 feet high, above which rose a roof to the height of about 120 feet.

Another kind of temple, specially favoured by the great Pharaoh Rameses II (Sesostris), was the cave-temple (Greek *speos*), the most impressive and interesting example of which is to be seen at Abu-Simbel (Ipsamboul), near the Second Cataract. The façade, cut out of the face of a limestone cliff, consists of a pylon set between four colossal seated statues of Rameses.¹ In front of the façade was a grand terrace, adorned with numerous statues of Osiris and figures of falcons. The pylon leads to a great court, 130 feet long, against whose square pillars Osiris figures are set; behind the court is the colonnaded hall, and behind that again the *naos* with various crypts. Not far distant is what is called the lesser *speos*, the façade of which displays six great standing figures—four of Rameses and two of his queen, Nefert-ari.

Of what are called sepulchral temples—temples built, as a rule, on the plain at some distance from the rock-tomb (*bypogeum*) in which the person was buried—a most splendid example was that built by Queen Hatshepset as a memorial of herself and Thothmes I and II. The vast remains of this temple and its magnificent terraces and colonnades are at Der-el-Bahari, the site of the great Necropolis of Thebes, called also the Memnoneia, on the east bank of the Nile. The sanctuaries—of Amen, Hathor, Anubis, of the Queen and the two Pharaohs—are excavated in the base of a limestone ridge, so that in this case there is a combination of *speos* and detached memorial temple (*Memnoneion*).

successful attempt to dethrone Ammon (Amen) and shake off the supremacy of the Theban priesthood is intensely interesting, but the slight differences in style between the Theban school and that of the artists at the court of the 'City of the Horizon,' the modern El-Amarna, where Akhnaton reigned for about fifteen years, before the return to Thebes, are not important enough to claim here more than a passing mention. Several portraits, a plaster cast, and the mummy of Akhnaton show him feeble in body. He died at twenty-eight years of age. His reform took place when the Children of Israel were growing numerous in Egypt. Was it perhaps influenced from this quarter?

¹ Sixty-six feet high. On the leg of one is to be seen a Greek inscription dating from 594. See *Ancient Greece*, pp. xv and 144.

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Sculpture. In this great era of the New or Second Empire were produced innumerable statues, of all sizes. Among the best-known colossi are those of Abu-Simbel, already described, and a mighty fallen statue of the same Pharaoh that lies amid the ruins of the 'Ramesseum' in the Theban Necropolis, and another still greater at Tanis, and the celebrated *Memnons* (Fig. 17), two huge seated red-sandstone figures, 65 feet high, which once flanked the portal of another great, but now vanished, sepulchral temple in the Necropolis of Thebes—that of Amenhotep III.¹ Among the less colossal and the very numerous small-sized statues and busts of this era there are in various museums many of Rameses II and Amenhotep III. A seated figure (black granite) of Rameses II at Turin is decidedly a fine work of art. A limestone bust of a lady in the Florentine Archaeological Museum is evidently a wonderfully realistic portrait; the head of Queen Thi, wife of Amenhotep III, in the Cairo Museum shows great skill in seizing expression and portraying it in stone; and a female face carved in the limestone lid of a sarcophagus in the Turin Museum is one of very numerous specimens of the art possessed by the old Egyptians of reproducing in their sculptures by means of paint and eyes formed of crystal and coloured stone or enamel the most startlingly lifelike effects. As for bas-reliefs, a freer style is observable, but the old frontal-profile distortion is often found, and there is no attempt at perspective. Decoratively the great figures of victorious Pharaohs amidst scenes of battle, carved in relief on pylon-towers and elsewhere, are impressive; and there are tombstones which show skill in attitude and composition, but they possess none of the exquisite pathos and beauty of Greek *stelae*.

Painting had now freed itself to a great extent from sculptured relief, and was largely in vogue. The Egyptians of this age, says Maspero, would not allow the most

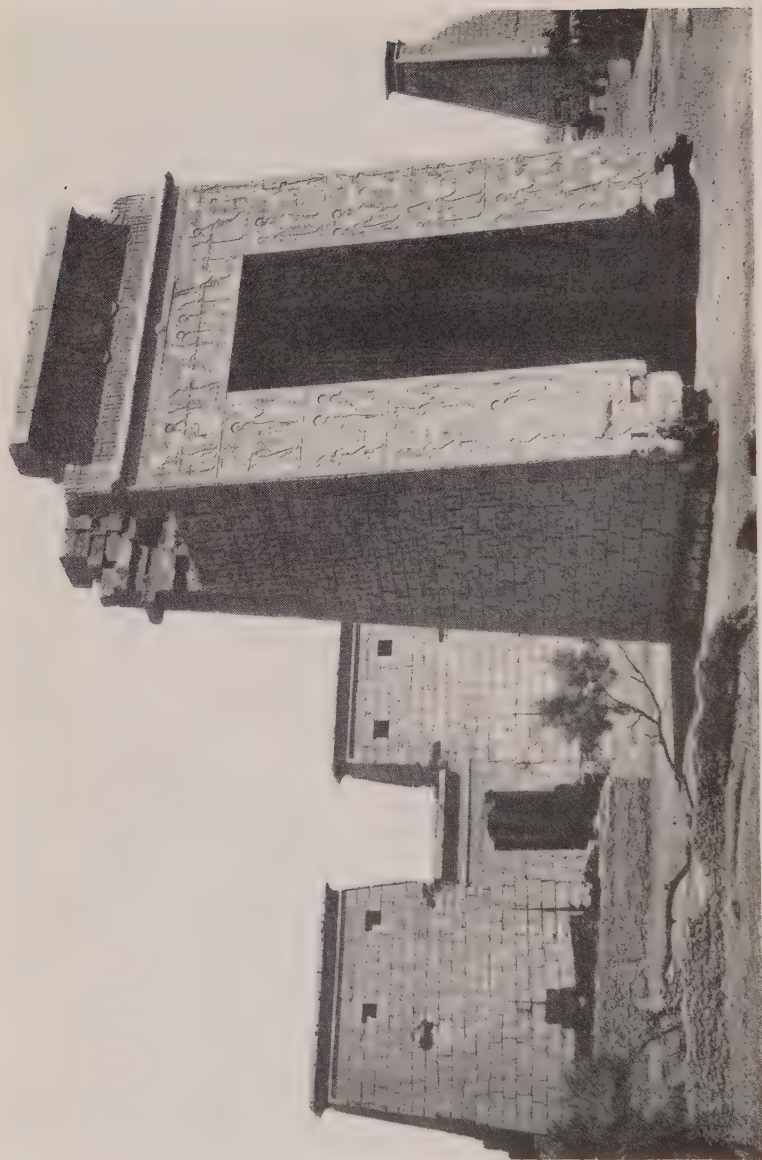
¹ To these colossi (or to one of them) the Greeks gave the name of Memnon, who was, according to Homer, the son of Eos (Aurora). The statue at sunrise, it is said, used to emit musical notes—until it was restored by the Emperor Severus. The name was probably due to the resemblance of some Egyptian word (Amenhotep?—or the old name of Thebes?) to the word Memnon. Hence the Theban Necropolis and other memorial buildings were called *Memnoneta*, perhaps confused with *Μνημεία*.



17. THE COLOSSI OF THEBES

Second Theban era

Photo: *Franklin D. Jones*



18. PYLONS OF TEMPLE OF KHONSU, KARNAK

Era of Rameses IV; rebuilt in Ptolemaic age

Photo Bouffis

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beautiful stone to remain bare. The vast surfaces of the walls of temples and tombs, of pylon-towers, of architraves and mighty columns, were often covered with not only bas-reliefs but also painted decorative designs, often showing vivid colours, and pictures representing deities, myths, ceremonies, battles and triumphs of the Pharaohs.¹ Also a vast amount of pictorial decoration was lavished on sarcophagi, mummy coffins, papyrus manuscripts, etc. But, in spite of its emancipation from the need of a sculptured surface, Egyptian painting, however interesting to the antiquarian, never attains the first elements of veritable art. Its employment for minor decorative purposes, *e.g.*, the ornamentation of woven stuffs, furniture, etc., does not come within the scope of this book.

(e) Saïte Era (c. 950-332)

From the chronological outline it will be seen that the Theban era ended in a period of hierarchical despotism and of decadence both political and artistic. For some 150 years the priests of Ammon ruled as princes of the Thebaid. The following period, from about the time of Pharaoh Shishak, who captured Jerusalem, to the advent of Alexander the Great and the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty on the throne of Egypt, is called the Saïte era, although the reigns of the Saïte Pharaohs cover only a part of it, seeing that it was not till about 665 that the first Saïte prince, Psamtik I, liberated Egypt, which had been conquered by Assurhaddon, from the yoke of the Assyrians, and founded a dynasty whose chief city was Saïs. This city, which lay in the Delta, on the western branch of the Nile, has entirely disappeared, though Herodotus (c. 450) marvelled at its huge buildings and its colossi.

During the rule of the priests and the Pharaohs of Tanis, and under the domination of Aethiopians, Assyrians, and Persians, art suffered obscuration, but not total eclipse; for, as we shall see, the relics of sculpture and painting are fairly numerous.

¹ Of special interest, as distantly connected with Greek art, are the pictures of Kephtiu ('Men from over the Sea,' probably Cretans) offering gifts to the warrior-king Thothis III. See *Ancient Greece*, p. 25.

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As regards **architecture**, the many temples built by the Tanite Pharaohs seem to have been somewhat perishable, for only 'shapeless fragments' of them remain;¹ and the Theban priest-kings contented themselves with adding largely to the vast existing temples. New tombs too were, it seems, not often built, for many of the existing mastabas and hypogea by this time—even before the Aethiopian and Assyrian invasions—had been plundered, and were now sold by the priests to rich applicants. Apparently the only important buildings erected by Saïte kings after their acquisition of Upper Egypt were the most ancient temples of that well-known group which, especially before the construction of the great Assuan dam, made the island of Philae, just above the First Cataract—some four hundred miles south of Cairo—a great attraction for the tourist. One of these Saïte Pharaohs was Aahmes II (560–500), a contemporary of Solon and Croesus, and famous, under the Greek name Amasis, as the friend of Polycrates—until the incident of the 'Ring.'² He and another Saïte king, Nectanebus, first built chapels and temples on Philae. Of these the ruins of the pavilion or 'Kiosk' of Nectanebus still exist—a square, columned portico with bell-shaped capitals surmounted by Hathor heads. The Isis chapel built by Amasis was demolished and rebuilt as a great temple, with huge pylon-towers and *Mammisi*,³ by Ptolemy Philadelphus several centuries later. After the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great and the founding of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Egyptian art went on side by side with Greek, the Macedonian monarchs (as also later the Roman emperors) erecting temples in the recognized Egyptian style; but it is very noticeable how in such temples, as for instance those at Philae and the fine Horus temple at Edfu (between Philae and Karnak) and the Hathor temple and palace at

¹ It should be remembered that, especially in the Delta, where stone is rare, vast numbers of brick-built palaces, and military and ordinary edifices, such as those for which the Israelites had to make bricks, have disappeared.

² It was under the first Saïte Pharaohs, Psamtik and Necho, that the Greek settlement at Naucratis was founded and that Greek mercenaries were quartered at Defenneh (Daphnae), where much Greek pottery has been found. See *Ancient Greece*, pp. 143, 144.

³ 'Birth-house,' to which the goddess retired every year. The Ptolemies also built a vast Serapeum (burial-place of the Apis bull) at Memphis, which contained one of the famous libraries. The word 'Serapis' is probably a Roman corruption of 'Osiris-Apis,' i.e., the tauriform Apis identified with Osiris (Fig. 103).



19. COLOSSI OF RAMESES THE GREAT

Façade of the temple at Abu-Simbel

Photo F. Frith & Co., Ltd.



20. TEMPLE OF ISIS AT PHILAE
Photo Bonfils

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Denderah, Egyptian architecture had been influenced by the Greek sense of the beauty and nobility attainable by proportion. There is sometimes something in these late Egyptian buildings which—although they may be for the antiquarian uninterestingly modern—delights the eye and the soul after long study of Memphite and Theban art.

Three centuries and more after Alexander the Great the Roman Emperor Augustus erected on Philae a chapel in the Roman style, and then in Egyptian style the great colonnade and the building wrongly called the 'Kiosk of Trajan.' Claudius and Hadrian also added buildings in Egyptian style.

Sculpture. Under the rule of the Theban high priests, sculpture, as also painting, seems to have suffered much from the restrictions imposed by orthodox formalism as well as by the fact that these functionaries allowed their relatives to set up their statues, often very poor productions, indiscriminately in the temples—a privilege retained for several centuries. The extant sculpture of this period is mostly artistically commonplace, but interesting for two reasons. One is the wonderful, indeed inexplicable, ease with which the hardest granitic material was worked and brilliantly polished, and the other is the very curious squatting attitude, with the taut-drawn robe forming a box-like square round the legs and body, which those who offered their statues to temples were seemingly obliged to adopt. Some of these 'squatting' statues (as Fig. 12) in spite of the strange posture are attractive on account of the wonderfully lifelike realism of the face. Under the Saïte Pharaohs sculpture acquired the usual traits of decadence, namely facile mastery over material and an absence of vigour and originality. In museums may be seen very numerous Saïte statues, busts, and statuettes, and an immense quantity of small objects in bronze, earthenware, plaster, and wood—figurines of gods, men, and animals (sacred and profane), some of them grotesque or obscene; but in spite of occasional gracefulness, due perhaps to Greek influence or Greek work¹—there is nothing artistically valuable; and this occasional gracefulness degenerates

¹ E.g., the *Osorkon*, *Amenartas*, *Alexander Aigos*, *Isis*, and a nude female statuette, all in the Cairo Museum. There are also statues in this museum of this period that are most certainly Greek in everything except actual execution, e.g., the 'Alexandrian Horus.'

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into affectation and inanity until in the Ptolemaic era the Sphinx adopts the smirking face of a pretty young lady, and in the Roman era she begins, as says Maspero, to 'cross her paws and lean her head on one side.'

That mastery over material which allowed the Saïte artists to carve basalt, syenite, diorite, and other such stone with, apparently, such extraordinary facility, combined perhaps with the consciousness of their own want of originality, induced them to make many replicas, in splendidly polished granites, of the old limestone statues of former eras, for which they evidently had great admiration. Hence originates the supposition that the grand statues of the pyramid-building Pharaohs, such as the great Chephren at Cairo, may be Saïte replicas. The bas-relief of this era shows tendencies similar to those of the statuary art. Priestly influence preserved in temples the old orthodox attitudes and motives, but in other cases is noticeable a marked preference for affected elegance and an even greater want of vigour and originality. The figures, says Maspero, become mere puppets without anatomical basis.

Late Saïte sculptors acquired, probably from the Greeks, the art of casting large statues in bronze, but only fragments of these have survived. In the Ptolemaic era there was an enormous production of bronze and terra-cotta figurines for votive offerings or other purposes—chiefly images of deities such as Ammon, Horus, Osiris, Isis, the dog-faced Anubis, the lion-faced Sekhet, the tauriform Apis, the monkey-faced and ibis-headed Thoth.

Painting had now become so completely independent of sculpture or architecture that there was probably, especially after the advent of Greek artists in the age of Apelles and Parrhasius, a considerable output of genuine pictures painted on wood and canvas and other perishable substances; but all such attempts at pictorial art, if they ever existed, have disappeared as totally as the works of the Greek painters. What has survived is the decorative painting of caskets, tombstones, coffins, and wrappings of mummies, etc., and the often astonishingly lifelike portrait masks that cover the faces of mummies.¹ These masks were at first, and also

¹ Compare the golden masks found at Mycenae.



21. COLONNADE OF TEMPLE OF ISIS AT PHILAE
Photo Bonfils



22. TEMPLE KNOWN AS THE 'KIOSK OF TRAJAN' AT PHILAE
Photo Bonfils

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later, carved in stone or wood, or moulded in plaster, but in the days of the later Ptolemies arose the fashion of using a panel painted, in the Greek way, with wax, or in distemper. Some of these are so vivid in their realism and so true in their colour and modelling that they may be regarded as veritable works of art, comparable with the portraits of the Italian *quattrocentisti*, and exceedingly interesting as fairly trustworthy evidence of what an ancient *Greek* portrait may have looked like. Lastly, we must not forget the illuminated papyri, some of which contain very careful paintings, chiefly of deities, sacred animals, and ceremonies.

Egyptian art, which for more than seven centuries—since the days of Alexander—had owed its survival mainly to Macedonian and Roman patronage, may be considered to have come to an end, after at least four thousand years of existence, in the year 393 of our era, when Theodosius the Catholic ordered all pagan temples in the Roman world to be closed.

Those who contemplate Egyptian art not only from the antiquarian's point of view, and who endeavour to form a just conception of the spirit of which it is the expression, will surely, the more familiar they become with the subject, realize ever more vividly the indescribable joy of the Israelites—of those at least who cared for something better than flesh-pots—at their escape from that land of bondage, bodily, mental, and spiritual. Even for the politically and religiously half-awakened Hebrew that seemingly endless slavery, amidst those monstrous temples and pyramids and colossi, in a realm of arrogant and brutal despotism and priestcraft, and of a religion founded on cringing terror of annihilation and desperate craving for an eternity of material existence, must have been like a fearful dream. And we, whose religion is founded on the teachings of Christ, whose grandest political ideals are those for which we have lately been fighting, whose highest philosophy is essentially that intimated by Plato, and whose truest art stands on the same basis as Greek art and literature—surely, when we realize what is meant by our escape from the world-domination of such a power as that which found expression in Egyptian art we cannot but feel inclined to join in the exultant song of Miriam.

CHAPTER II

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

AS was done in the case of Egypt, it will be well to offer a few remarks, chronological and other, in order to show the extent and nature of our subject without entering into unnecessary historical and legendary details.

Mesopotamia—that region between the Tigris and Euphrates which formed later the central domain of the vast Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Empires—was first inhabited, as far as we can tell, by a people called the Chaldaeans. Inscriptions have been found that seem to prove their existence—and to attest their knowledge of writing (at first pictographic, later cuneiform)—at least four thousand, perhaps six thousand, years before Christ.¹ Northern Chaldaea went by the name of Akkad or Sumer.² The Akkadians or (as they are often called) Sumerians were probably not Semitics, such as the Jews and Phoenicians, but possibly Turanians—related to the Tatars and Chinese—or possibly of the same stock as the Aryans. But in the great plains of Southern Chaldaea—that region of ‘Edina’ which may perhaps be the Biblical ‘Eden,’ where Merodach (Nimrod) founded Babel and other great cities—the language seems to have been mainly Semitic; and this finally prevailed, as also perhaps Semitic blood. Babylon became the chief city, and about 3000 we find the provinces of ancient Babylonia ruled by chieftains, or priest-princes. One of these, about 2800, seems to have become very powerful, for he claims in an inscription that his god had delivered all into his hand from the upper to the lower sea (Mediterranean to Persian Gulf?). He is noticeable because the

¹ The ruins of Niffer (Nippuru) are believed by some to date from about 8000 B.C. The *cuneiform* was preceded by the *pictorial* script, as seen on the Gudea statues. See *Ancient Greece*, p. 38.

² Accad and Shinar of the Bible (?). The words possibly mean North and South.

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largest and perhaps the very oldest extant Chaldaean sculptures (dug up in his palace at Tello and now in the Louvre) are nine headless statues of this King Gudea (Fig. 24) which show unmistakable Egyptian influence.¹ Semitic kings of Babylon thus unite all the provinces under their rule. Among these kings of the Ancient Babylonian Empire we hear of some building huge temples for the Sun-god,² and digging great canals and fortifying cities. One of these (Hammurabi) seems to be the Amraphel of Genesis xiv. This Ancient Empire of Babylonia, with its very numerous kings, of whom little is known for certain, lasted, as we shall see, till about 730, when it was overthrown by Assyria.

Now in the north of Mesopotamia a warlike people had appropriated the upper valley of the Tigris, flanked on the east by the mountains of what is now Kurdistan. They founded a city named, after their god, Assur, whence they have the name Assyrians. Like the Babylonians they were at first ruled by chieftains, or priest-princes (*patesi*), but about 1480 elected a king, and about 1300 instead of Assur chose as their capital Nineveh, already a great city on the Upper Tigris, some three hundred miles north of Babylon. Until now the relations between Assyria and Babylonia had been friendly, and there had been a great deal of interchange of population; but the Assyrians were aggressive, and after many wars and temporary conquests during more than five hundred years the famous Tiglath-pileser (745-727) finally conquered and annexed Babylonia.³

Thus the Assyrian Empire swallowed up the Ancient Empire of Babylonia and assimilated its civilization.⁴ Its sometimes severely contested supremacy over Babylon lasted only about 130 years. The famous Sargon and Sennacherib, Hezekiah's foe, and Assurhaddon (Ahasuerus), conqueror of Egypt, were Assyrian kings of this period.

¹ He was perhaps contemporary with Cheops or some other Memphite pyramid-builder. Note that Sidon was probably founded before 3000 and Tyre, 'daughter of Sidon,' about 2750.

² Sama was the ancient Sun-god. Bel, or Baal ('Lord'), was rather the Light of Day, like Diespiter (Jupiter).

³ He is 'Pul' of 2 Kings xv, who subjugated the Jews.

⁴ But its greatness in art began, say, about 885, before it had annexed Babylonia.

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In 606 Cyaxares of Media and Nabopolassar, a revolted Assyrian general, captured and destroyed Nineveh and established the New Empire of Babylonia. This New Empire, of which the second king was Nebuchadnezzar the Great, conqueror of Jerusalem, whence he led the Jews into captivity (587), and of Tyre (573), and of Pharaoh Apries (Hophra), lasted only sixty-eight years; for in 538 Babylon was taken by Cyrus, who founded the Persian Empire.

It will thus be seen that our subject falls into three eras—that of the Chaldaean or Ancient Babylonian Empire (from, say, 4000 to about 740)—that of the Assyrian Empire (885–606)—that of the New Babylonian Empire (606–538). Of these the first era was about twelve times as long as the second and nearly fifty times as long as the third; but it is the second, the Assyrian era, contemporary with the Twenty-fifth (Aethiopian) Dynasty in Egypt and the earlier Saïte Pharaohs, that will mainly occupy our attention.

(a) Ancient Babylonia (*c.* 4000–*c.* 740)

Architecture. In the vast plains of Southern Mesopotamia intense heat and inundations create such an intolerable climate that (not to mention the Garden of Eden, chosen as a paradise for the human race) it seems almost incredible that powerful princes and peoples should have chosen it for the sites of their palaces and cities. As stone and hard timber are scarcely to be found, it is not surprising that almost all the buildings of the old Chaldeans have disappeared, and that what little remains consists of masses of brick masonry. Moreover, necessity being the mother of invention, it is also not surprising that they discovered, or adopted from still older races, the art of building brick arches and the barrel-vault—possibly even the cupola.

In various localities, two of which are probably the Biblical Erech and Ur of the Chaldees, there have been brought to light ruins and foundations of Chaldaean temples and palaces which were hidden under the huge mounds that during all these thousands of years had accumulated round and over them. The temples seem to have been

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usually lofty and vast edifices erected on mighty platforms built of sun-dried and faced with kiln-baked bricks.¹ They rose in stages connected externally by flights of stairs, and on the summit was constructed the sanctuary of the god. Of this nature is supposed to have been the Tower of Babel, vestiges of which, or of its later reconstructions, have perhaps been found on the site of Babylon. On a cylinder of Urkam, King of Ur of the Chaldees, he asserts that at Ur he built a great pyramid and a temple with bronzen doors. But by far the most important, being the best preserved, architectural relic of ancient Chaldaea has been discovered at Shirpurla, now called Tello, namely what remains of the palace of that priest-prince Gudea already mentioned. This palace was a massive square building consisting of various courts surrounded by rooms, and there is what seems to have been a small private chapel or shrine. The walls are internally decorated with embedded terra-cotta cups and vases of divers colours and with mosaic patterns of little coloured stones.

Sculpture. A few veritable Chaldaean carvings have been discovered.² One seems to represent a human sacrifice; another the triumph of the Old Babylonian king, Naram-Sin; another is on fragments of a column (the *Stele of the Vultures*) set up by King Eannadu. There is also a bronze bas-relief showing a line of warriors; and among the incised cylinders there are two of special interest, one representing Istubar, the Chaldaean Heracles (the lion-strangler of later reliefs), offering gifts to a sacred bull, and the other showing him fighting with demon-monsters. This last cylinder is in the New York Museum; most of the other important Chaldaean antiquities are in the Louvre, and these include nine headless statues and two heads of black diorite, which was evidently brought from afar. These statues, already mentioned, all represent the king Gudea, but in different characters. In one (Fig. 24) he holds on his lap

¹ These huge and lofty substructures were perhaps originally due to inundations and swampy ground and that longing for the higher air shown also by 'hanging gardens' and heaven-climbing 'towers of Babel.'

² Among the innumerable incised cylinders, tablets, and tiles that still await examination some doubtless date from this era; but they are of linguistic rather than artistic interest.

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the rule and compasses of an architect and a surprisingly scientific plan of a fortress; and he wears a very simple dress with a skirt that reminds one of Rameses II (Fig. 15), incised with pictorial script not unlike that of ancient Crete.¹

Finally, in Gudea's palace have been unearthed many small figures in bronze which show considerable skill in modelling, and a bronzen head of a bull with eyes of coloured stone and mother-of-pearl which almost rivals the silver and gold bull's head found at Mycenae, although this is the work of an age perhaps a thousand years later.

(b) Assyria (885-606)

Architecture. The Assyrians were a far more vigorous and predatory race than the Chaldaeans. They seemed intent only on building up a vast empire by war and commerce; they were brutal, overweening, and inhuman, as is amply proved by atrocious scenes depicted in their bas-reliefs. But as the Romans, in spite of Virgil's appeal to their art-despising militarism, were conquered by the higher civilization of captive Greece, so did these Assyrians accept and assimilate the civilization of ancient Babylonia—the religion, the Semiticized language, the cuneiform writing, the architecture, the sculpture, and much else. However, on account of new conditions architecture and sculpture assumed new forms. In the regions of the Upper Tigris, where Nineveh lay, there was stone and timber, and from the neighbouring hills were transported by means of great sledges and rollers the blocks used for the vast substructures of temples, or slabs for facing the brickwork, or even the huge mass of a winged bull or lion.² The arch and vault now became easier to build, and the cupola, circular and even

¹ As writing was in its first origins pictorial it claims notice as an art; and Chaldaean writing is important, for it has given us accounts of the Creation and Flood which seem more ancient than the Biblical story. We may note that the wedge of cuneiform originated probably in the attempt to make a line, a circle, etc., by dabbing a chisel-shaped stick into the soft clay of a tile or cylinder, instead of drawing a continuous line with a sharp instrument on stone, as done in countries where stone is to be found.

² The bas-reliefs show that the method of transport was very similar to that used in Egypt.



23. THE GOD NEBO
Dedicated, c. 800, by King Pul
From Nimroud. In *British Museum*
Photo Mansell



24. GUDEA
A Chaldean priest-king. c. 2800
One of nine headless statues in the Louvre
Photo Giraudon



25. WINGED MAN-HEADED LION

From the palace of Assurnazirpal. 885-860

Excavated by Sir A. H. Layard, 1847-54

British Museum

Photo Mansell

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elliptic, was freely used. The chief temples, like the Chaldaean, were usually erected on great platforms, and consisted of huge pyramidal towers with seven storeys, each of which was dedicated to one of the seven planets (sun and moon included) and decorated with the colour proper to its luminary. The topmost stage, with its circular shrine—like a temple of Vesta surmounted by a gilded cupola—was usually consecrated to the supreme god of the Babylonians, Merodach or Bel, the Sun-god, or rather the God of the Day, who was identified with the old Assyrian god Assur.

Of Assyrian regal palaces more is known, for very extensive and in some cases very well preserved remains have been discovered. Near Nineveh, at the modern Khorsabad, the great fortifications of the town Dur-Saruchin and the vast palace of Sargon (Saruchin) were found in 1843 by an Italian, Botta, sent out by the French Government, which published his researches and acquired the results of his excavations. Some years later the Englishman Henry Layard made his celebrated discoveries at Nimroud, the site of Nineveh; and the palaces of the following kings have now been more or less explored: Assurnazirpal (c. 885), Shalmanezer II, Tiglath-pileser II, Assurhaddon (Ahasuerus), Sargon, Sennacherib,¹ and Assurbanipal (Sardanapalus, 669–626). From reconstructions made by piecing together the numerous relics we obtain a fairly complete idea of what such a palace was. It was built on a lofty fortified platform and surrounded by high walls and towers faced with glazed and decorated stucco, the cornices and battlements of which were painted blue—reminding one of the ‘cynanean’ battlements of the palace of Alcinous, described by Homer. The entrance was an arched portal with gates of bronze and adorned with geometrical decorations and representations of winged genii that were formed of bright-coloured tiles. The gate was flanked by square towers, somewhat in the fashion of the Egyptian pylons, and by huge figures of winged bulls or lions with human heads. The vast interior (the walls of which seem to have been often of poor material, as those of the Egyptian palaces, and covered over with gaudy stucco or tiles, or only with

¹ Sennacherib in his many inscriptions boasts of the great buildings with which he had adorned Nineveh, neglected by his father Sargon.

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tapestry) consisted, as in the case of the Chaldaean palace at Tello, of a great court, from which one entered other courts through other portals, each flanked by towers and winged bulls or lions. The rooms and halls had doors of bronze with relief work, and their walls and ceilings were sometimes richly decorated with inlay of rare woods and ivory and gold, or with alabaster reliefs (such as the fine hunting scenes now in the British Museum) and with paintings or tile-mosaics. In the *penetralia* of the palace was a shrine—the Chapel Royal—and nigh to this were rooms containing the royal library, consisting of great piles of clay bricks imprinted with cuneiform writing. Within the palace walls were high terraces planted with trees.

Sculpture. Except a few inartistic figures, such as those of King Assurnazirpal and the god Nebo (British Museum), there is little proof that statues were produced by the Assyrians.¹ But in the art of sculptured relief they were proficient. The winged bulls themselves are figures in high relief, and there are extant several series of large and well-preserved bas-reliefs, some splendid specimens of which, carved in alabaster, may be seen in the British Museum. A striking characteristic of these Assyrian reliefs, and one that distinguishes them favourably from the Egyptian, is the successful indication of immense strength and immense effort, both in men and in animals, exhibited not only in movement, but in that state of restraint and equilibrium which is found in all great statues and in most great bas-reliefs.² The scenes of war and of the chase are especially good, and the human beings are of a type intellectually surely far superior to those of Egyptian art—however revolting may be some of the scenes in which they take part, such as the flaying, impaling, and blinding of captives. As might be expected, women figure but rarely in these reliefs,

¹ The Germans, when at Bagdad, discovered a statue of Shalmanezar III.

² A good instance is the lioness (Fig. 30) in the British Museum, pierced with arrows and dragging her hind-legs painfully behind her—surely greater in artistic conception than any Egyptian sculpture; greater too than Thorwaldsen's theatrical lion at Lucerne. The rigid attitude and terrified faces of the two horses, in Fig. 29, gazing at the dead lion are surely masterly. Lenormant, who is enthusiastic over the 'calm religious grandeur' of Egyptian art, allows that the Assyrian 'possesses a life and energy that the Egyptian never knew.' There are some fine bas-reliefs too of Istubar, the Chaldaean Heracles, strangling a lion.



26. ASSURHADDON, WITH CAPTIVE EGYPTIAN
AND AETHIOPIAN

c. 670

Photo Graphische Gesellschaft



27. ASSURNAZIRPAL

669-626. With inscription on breast extolling his power

From palace at Nimroud. In British Museum

Photo Mansell

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and female beauty and dignity, especially in those dating from the time of Sennacherib onward, are conspicuous by their absence. While however some Assyrian sculptures, such as the hunting scenes in the British Museum with some exceedingly vigorous and finely designed horses and dogs, show artistic qualities that one may look for in vain in Egyptian reliefs and paintings—being transcripts from nature by gifted artists and not merely clever reproductions of the conventional types of the workshop—it must be allowed that most of the comparatively few relics of the era of Assyrian sculpture (an era about fifteen times shorter than the Egyptian) show lack of knowledge and of skill in delineation, whereas even a poor Egyptian sculptor by imitating traditional typical forms was able to produce something that gives (as a Swiss wood-carving) an impression of accuracy. The Assyrian went to nature, and, when a real artist, produced something of real value, but when he did not possess the rare gift of transcribing natural objects artistically he merely reproduced details and thus built up something inferior to the work of the Egyptian. And in the decorative bas-reliefs of Assyrian palaces much tiresome repetition of motives is noticeable.¹

The **painting** of the Assyrians seems to have been only decorative and to have consisted mainly, as the Egyptian, in unshaded surface colouring, often used over bas-relief, with no attempt at modelling or perspective. A speciality of Assyrian decorative art was the adornment of walls and pavements of temples and palaces by means of beautifully enamelled coloured tiles. Decorative skill was also shown in embroidery, splendid carpets, tapestries, bronze and gold work, etc.—products which influenced the early decorative arts of Hellenic Asia Minor, Greece, and Etruria, and continued to be imitated during the New Babylonian and Persian eras and were in great request down to the days of the Roman Empire.

¹ A series of such reliefs (one line of large figures in the older palaces, several lines of smaller in the later) begins usually with winged genii and then gives scenes of war and of triumphs and enslavement and torturing of captives (in a Khorsabad relief King Sargon is himself thrusting a spear into the eye of a kneeling prisoner), then thanksgiving offerings and hunting scenes, etc. There is a variety of treatment, but the subject is merely the glorification of the despot.

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(c) New Babylonian Empire (606-538)

This empire, as we have seen, lasted only sixty-eight years. Nabopolassar, the faithless general of the last Assyrian king, joined the Medes in their attack on Nineveh, and the king set fire to his own palace and perished in the flames; much of the city was also probably burnt, and Babylon, rebuilt with great magnificence by Nabopolassar's son, the great Nebuchadnezzar—whose boast, recorded in the Bible, is well known to all of us—became again the most important city of Mesopotamia. Its enormous walls and 'hanging gardens' (the afore-mentioned terraces, planted with palms and other trees, rising one above the other like the tiers of an amphitheatre) were classed among the seven Wonders of the World, and the area enclosed by the outer ramparts was, if we are to believe the figures given by Herodotus and other old writers, considerably more than 170 square miles.¹ Of all this vast city, built on both sides of the Euphrates, there is now very little trace—the reason doubtless being that most of the great edifices consisted mainly of sun-baked brick. Remains however have been discovered of two great tower-temples which, says Professor Carotti, seem to confirm the ancient descriptions of the mighty pile dedicated to Bel by Nebuchadnezzar, on the summit of which blazed the golden cupola of the Sun-god's shrine, serving as a beacon to guide caravans across the Babylonian plain. Of the sculpture and painting of the Neo-Babylonians scarce a vestige has survived. It is supposed that they continued the methods of Chaldaeo-Assyrian artists, and there can be no doubt that amidst a people so wealthy and luxurious, governed by a monarch who, like the great Rameses II of Egypt, is said to have raised splendid monuments in almost every town of his empire, and whose huge Sun-god temple and 'image of gold' have taken captive the imagination of posterity, a great amount of what in such an age passes for art was

¹ There were two circles of ramparts. The outer *enceinte* was doubtless the mural defence of the whole district of Babylon, enclosing great expanses of cultivated ground, plantations, etc. Herodotus makes the walls have a length of about sixty miles. A *Times* correspondent with our troops in Mesopotamia calculated them (evidently the enclosure of the inner city only) at eleven and a half miles.



28. ROYAL LION-HUNT



29. LION-HUNT, WITH KING ASSURBANIPAL

c. 650. *British Museum*

Photos. Maussell



30. DYING LIONESS
Assyrian relief. *British Museum*
Photo Mansell

HITTITES AND PHOENICIANS

produced. Whether besides 'images of gold' (perhaps wooden images covered with gilt metal) statues and bas-reliefs were made, and, if so, of what artistic value they were, we have no means of ascertaining. A few enamelled terracottas are, it seems, the sole evidence of the existence of the decorative art of the mighty but short-lived New Babylonian Empire.

That the palaces were magnificent we may infer from the vivid and dramatic account of the capture of the city given by the writer of the Book of Daniel; and we may note in passing that the captor, called in the Bible 'Darius the Mede,' was really Cyrus the Persian, and that the Biblical 'King Belshazzar' was probably the heir of the reigning monarch, Nabonaid (or Labynetus), who, being, it is said, more of a student and an art-lover than a warrior, had confided military affairs to his son and made him governor of Babylon.

NOTE ON THE HITTITES AND PHOENICIANS

From about 3000 B.C. existed in Eastern Asia Minor a warlike people, of Tatar origin, that in course of time conquered and assimilated other tribes, and extended their empire from Lydia and Phrygia to Armenia and the Euphrates and down as far as Hebron in Palestine—where we hear of them in the time of Abraham (Gen. xxiii)—and are said by Ezekiel (xvi, 3) to have been among the founders of Jerusalem. These people were the Biblical Hittites, the 'Kheta' of Egyptian inscriptions, and very possibly the Κήτιοι of Homer (*Od.* xi, 521). Their chief strongholds were Carchemish on the Euphrates, Kadesh on the Orontes, and Boghaz-Keui in their northern 'greater kingdom,' where important discoveries of ruins of King Mursil's palace or stronghold, dating from about 1300, and of the royal archives have been made.

The Hittite Empire seems to have been at the height of its power after having conquered the great Cappadocian kingdom, about the time (say, 1350) when the Phrygians were founding the sixth city of Troy (*i.e.*, the Homeric Troy). Inscriptions in the hitherto seemingly indecipherable Hittite

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script¹ have been found through almost the whole of Asia Minor, as well as rude bas-reliefs which by their portrayals of men and arms and vesture seem to prove that the empire embraced many types, Mongolian, Semitic, Aryan, and Proto-Greek ('Aegean'). Of this same era are various Egyptian bas-reliefs depicting Hittites, as well as cuneiform tablets discovered at El-Amarna (the city of the reformer-Pharaoh, Akhnaton), among which is a letter from a Hittite king to Amenhotep III and a treaty made between King Chetasor and Pharaoh Rameses II. The Hittites were subdued by Sargon the Assyrian (c. 700), and after suffering much from the ravages of the wild Cimmerians were finally (549) crushed by King Croesus of Lydia, just three years before his overthrow by Cyrus the Persian.

Besides the relics discovered at Boghaz-Keui there have been found in divers parts of Asia Minor courts excavated, it is believed, by Hittites in the sides of hills. On the rocky sides of these courts, as well as on other rocks, are frequently to be seen processions of figures,² evidently of a religious nature, reminding one of the mysteries of Dionysos or Cybele; and the resemblance is not fortuitous, for although many of the Hittite carvings show evident imitation of Egyptian and Assyrian bas-reliefs—triumphant warriors, hunting scenes, sphinxes, lions, etc.—there are most indubitable traces of the motives which so strongly characterize ancient Cretan and Ionian sculptures, *e.g.*, that of the Earth-mother (Cybele or Rhea) with her lions and that of the sacred two-headed axe (*labrys*). Also the winged horse (Pegasus), which is of Asiatic origin, is pictured in Hittite reliefs.

Among the friezes found at Boghaz-Keui one affords a good example of the curious symbolic character of Hittite art. The deities or priests, accompanied by, or standing on, various animals (lions and a two-headed eagle), seem to be meeting a Hittite king standing on the necks of captives and followed by other Hittites, who are apparently stepping on peaks of mountains.³ Especially interesting is the two-

¹ Usually not incised but in relief, as some Memphite Egyptian hieroglyphs.

² In the Louvre and the British Museum are specimens.

³ Noticeable are the tall cap (*tiara*, or *mitra*, like the Phrygian *κυρβασις*) and the tall snow-boots with turned-up toes, a survival probably from the mountain homeland of the Hittites.

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headed eagle ; for it is asserted that this strange creature was adopted from Hittite sculptures by the Seljukian Turks, and was introduced into Europe at the time of the Crusades, and ultimately became the symbol of certain Great Powers of Christendom.

The **Phoenicians**, an ancient race, probably of Semitic origin,¹ inhabited a long strip of the Syrian coast north of Palestine. The lack of agriculture and other resources naturally made them especially a maritime people. Their port of Sidon perhaps existed before 3000 B.C., for Tyre, 'daughter of Sidon,' was founded (if we may believe what the priests of Melcarth at Tyre told Herodotus) about 2750. Phoenicia, being rich and unwarlike, was much harassed by other nations—by the ancient Babylonians ; by the Egyptians under Thothmes III, who made it an Egyptian province ; by the Hittites, who incorporated it in their empire ; by Shalmanezar II of Assyria, whose oppression probably caused the princess Elissa (called 'Dido' after a Phoenician goddess) to migrate to North Africa and found Carthage ; and, finally, it was crushed by Alexander the Great and disappeared, leaving the conflict of the Semitic against the Aryan race for supremacy on the Mediterranean coasts to be waged by Carthage in the great battle on the Himera and in the Punic wars, until the total destruction of the Punic city by the Romans in 146.

It was apparently during the six centuries between the enslavement of their country by Pharaoh Thothmes (c. 1500) and its conquest by the Assyrians (c. 860) that the Phoenicians, though for a considerable period incorporated in the Hittite Empire, were at the height of their maritime power. About the time of Moses (c. 1350) they seem to have possessed the colony of Tarshish in Spain, and had probably already reached Britain and the Baltic and the west coast of Africa (where later they had three hundred factories) and the Black Sea. Gades (Cadiz) was founded by them about the time of the Trojan War (c. 1180), and Utica about 1100. In the

¹ The theory that the name *Phoenix* (Lat. *Poenus*, *Punicus*) is related to 'the land of Punt' (Abyssinia), which an old Egyptian inscription mentions, seems controverted by the Phoenician language being Semitic, not African.

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time of Solomon (c. 960)—and probably long before—they had fleets on the Red Sea, which brought gold from India or South Africa. During these six centuries—from the decline of the naval supremacy of the Cretan Minoans until the rise of Hellenic sea-power—the Phoenicians were the great maritime and commercial people of the Mediterranean, and, although like other Semitic nations apparently incapable of producing great original works of art,¹ they not only disseminated far and wide the products of other countries, but were very skilful imitators and manufacturers of all kinds of attractive wares likely to find a ready sale, such as pottery, phials, and other articles in coloured glass, goblets and dishes of silver-gilt and enamel, embossed and engraved metal ornaments and arms, etc. The many specimens of such things found on the sites of Phoenician *emporía* on the Mediterranean coasts confirm the descriptions given in the *Odyssey* of the Phoenician as an artful huckster of gauds and trinkets—a skipper

Mindful of nought but his bales and careful of nought but the cargo,
Ay, and the grab and the gain.

But in the *Iliad* the poet seems to speak more respectfully: thus the silver wine-bowl given as a prize in the funeral games in honour of Patroclus was ‘more beautiful than all others on earth, since it was wrought by those cunning workers, the Sidonians’; and another such *crater* was given to Menelaus by the King of Sidon, and a beautiful *peplos*, the work of the women of Sidon, was brought thence by Paris when on his voyage to Troy with Helen; and in this connexion we should remember the famous Tyrian purple dye.

In the Bible, too, as all know, the Sidonians are extolled as the best wood-carvers in the world, and Hiram, the Tyrian worker in ‘brass,’ produced for King Solomon many wondrous things for the Temple and for his palace. The Temple itself (a description of which is here hardly necessary)

¹ This does not apply to poetry or to music. The Teutonic character of the Phoenician imitation for purely commercial purposes is exemplified by goblets, etc., on which Egyptian hieroglyphs are used merely as meaningless decoration. In a silver dish found at Curion (Cyprus) there are combined Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian designs.

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was built almost entirely by Phoenicians.¹ And we should not forget the mighty fortifications and magnificent double harbour of Carthage that owed their origin to Phoenician science and vigour, nor the fact, if it be a fact, that it was by Phoenician engineering skill that Xerxes threw his bridge of ships across the Hellespont and pierced the isthmus of Mount Athos.

But as well as traditions and finds of small articles we have some actual relics of Phoenician architecture and sculpture.

Firstly, at two places in Phoenicia, Singerli and Sakje Geuzi, have been disclosed remains of buildings—a citadel, palaces, and houses. The citadel, like that of Troy, shows strata belonging to various eras—the oldest dating from about 1400 and the latest, bearing the traces of fire, perhaps burnt when Assurhaddon, the Assyrian king, devastated Phoenicia, about 680. The sculptured bas-reliefs found on the walls and portals of the palaces are distinctly of Hittite type, the men wearing mostly the Hittite garb—the snow-boots and conical headgear—and the animals being sometimes strange, twy-natured beasts. In the palace unearthed at Sakje Geuzi were found sculptures of a later date and of a different character, showing distinctly Assyrian influences; moreover, the portal of the palace was flanked by square towers, after the Egyptian fashion, and was adorned by sphinxes and lions.

Secondly, in Cyprus, which for a long period belonged to the Phoenicians, discoveries have been made which would seem to attribute to this people a good deal more artistic talent than is generally allowed them.² But this is probably explainable by the fact, discovered not long ago, that at a very early date (possibly from the days of Teucer, brother of Ajax, who is said by Horace to have founded a new Salamis in Cyprus) there were Hellenic settlers and princes in the island, who introduced the Greek gods and doubtless exercised much influence on local art. Remains of temples

¹ For the capitals made by Hiram—'nets of checker-work' and 'lily-work'—so curiously similar to Byzantine capitals, see *Medieval Italy*, p. 268.

² See following chapter on Crete and Minoan art. Though the Phoenicians are no longer credited with the introduction of art into Hellas they doubtless introduced the alphabet.

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have been found which consisted of square-courts containing shrines and symbols of the deity—generally conical pillars—and within the porticos were statues, apparently of priests, some of whom bore in their hands flowers and doves, offerings perhaps to the Cyprian goddess, the Greek Aphrodite, who was, maybe, the original, and not the imitation, of the Phoenician Astaroth, or Astarte. Also among the many small objects found at Phoenician trading-stations are numerous terra-cotta statuettes representing girls and women, often very graceful, carrying doves or flowers. The doves of Aphrodite (Venus) are probably relics of her worship as the Lady of Wild Creatures, or the Goddess of Spring. Some of these Cypriot sculptures—of which good examples are in the Metropolitan Museum of New York—show, in spite of Egyptian characteristics, a dignity and beauty that seem indubitably Hellenic, and the similarity of some of the priest statues to some of the statues of priestesses (the so-called ‘*Aunts*’) excavated from the ruins of the old Athenian Acropolis is very striking. Finally, it is interesting to note the frequency with which Cypriot art seems to depict the figure of Geryon, the three-headed Spanish giant—evidently a subject of one of those Phoenician yarns which furnished Homer with the story of the Cyclops, the Isle of Calypso, the Laestrygonian cannibals, and other myths of the *Odyssey*.

CHAPTER III

‘AEGAEAN’ ART¹

TROY, MYCENAE, CRETE, ACHAEAN (HOMERIC) ART,
THE DORIANS, IONIA

UNTIL comparatively lately the real history of Greece was supposed by modern writers to begin about the date of the first Olympiad—namely 776 B.C. All the stories of the Trojan War, of ancient heroes and kings, and of the great migrations, even the sober statements of Thucydides and Herodotus about the great sea-empire of King Minos of Crete, were relegated to the realm of fable—or regarded as myths founded on facts so undiscoverable that the great historian Grote affirmed their quest to be as illusory as that of the Hyperborean Elysium. But the discoveries of the last forty years or so have changed all this and have added some new and most interesting chapters to the history of Greece and to that of Greek art—chapters that treat of a period of nigh two thousand years and of a people whom one calls the ‘Aegaeans,’ relics of whose civilization and art have been discovered in Greece, in Crete, and in other Aegaeon islands.

To what extent classic Greek art was indebted to these newly revealed ‘Aegaeans’ is not yet clear. It is true that ‘Aegaeon’ plastic art attained an astonishing proficiency and sometimes shows affinities to Hellenic art which place it, in spite of some external resemblances, in a category essentially different from that to which Egyptian and other Oriental art belong; but it may be that the ‘Aegaeon’ people and their art were swept out of existence by the Dorian

¹ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish what is artistically important from what is only of antiquarian interest, but all that has any vital connexion with the origins of Greek art and literature, even though it may possess in itself no artistic value, is surely far more important for the art student than museums full of the relics of Egyptian and other civilizations from whose art-ideals humanity has luckily escaped.

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invasion and perished totally in the Dark Age—say between 1100 and 776. It is, however, I think, more probable that these dark-haired, lithe-limbed aborigines whom one calls 'Aegaeans'—inhabitants of Mediterranean coasts and islands—after having become amalgamated with the Achaean invaders, were driven out of the fertile parts of Greece by the wild Dorian Northmen and took refuge in Attica, and that they thence passed in large numbers across the Aegaeon and founded the famous colony of Ionia, tribes from Northern Greece having still earlier founded Aeolia, the other great Hellenic colony in Asia Minor. And since Ionia seems to have been a source from which classic Greek art first drew large inspiration,¹ and as Athens itself, the centre of that classic art, continued to be inhabited by many of these 'Ionians'—who were in all probability descendants of the aboriginal 'Aegaeans'—it seems reasonable to believe in the survival of this new influence and to treat 'Aegaeon' art, though it shows a spirit utterly different from that of the later Olympian religion, as the first phase of that Greek art which will occupy so much of our attention.²

The discoveries which have opened up to us this vast, and still dim, prospect were made especially at three centres, namely Troy, in the north-western corner of Asia Minor, Mycenae, in Greece, the royal residence of the kings of Argos,³ and Crete, the kingdom of that King Minos whom Homer calls the familiar friend of Zeus and the father of Ariadne, the heroine of the story of Theseus and the Minotaur. A great amount of material most interesting and important for the antiquarian, the linguist, and the historian has been collected by excavators. Of this I must select what will serve my present purpose, introducing other facts only as far as may be necessary for lucidity.

¹ Also Greek poetry; for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were probably composed by an Ionian or Aeolian poet. Hesiod too seems to have come originally from Aeolia.

² If, as is likely, the myth of Daedalus and Minos and the great exodus of Cretans to South Italy, which Herodotus puts at about 1330, has historical basis, the 'Aegaeans,' or the mysterious 'Pelasgians' (who were also 'Aegaeans'), may have been, through the Etruscans, the lineal ancestors of Italian art.

³ The acropolis of Tiryns is more important than that of the neighbouring Mycenae as a specimen of ancient megalithic architecture, with its gigantic terraces and galleries and towers, but the Tiryns 'palace,' like that at Mycenae, is probably Achaean, not 'Aegaeon.'

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(a) Troy

The story of the siege and destruction of Troy, related in Homeric and ‘Cyclic’ poems, had been long condemned by erudite critics to the limbo of fiction as the fanciful description of a war never waged and an age that never existed, or as a *farrago* of ballads concerning small local, Thessalian, intertribal conflicts, or as an epic version of a sun-myth, when, in 1870, an enterprising German, Dr Schliemann, began excavations at Hissarlik (the Roman ‘Novum Ilium’), which he believed to be the site of the city asserted by tradition to have been sacked by the Greeks in the year 1184 B.C. Having unearthed the stratified remains of several towns, he discovered what he held to be the Homeric city. It had great ramparts of sun-dried brick, and within the citadel he found what he called King Priam’s Treasure—a very considerable collection of gold and silver ornaments and copper weapons. It seemed strange that there was no *bronze* and also only hand-made pottery—for Homeric weapons and armour are always ‘bronzes,’ indicating that *tin* had been already imported (from Spain and Britain by the Phoenicians?) to mix with the copper found in Cyprus, Euboea, and elsewhere; and the potter’s wheel is described vividly in the *Odyssey*. Moreover there was little or no sign of the Olympians; there was only a hideous leaden image of some primitive female deity.

At last further excavation brought proofs, confirmed by the wonderful discoveries of Sir A. Evans and others in Crete, that Schliemann’s ‘Homeric city’ was only the *second* in time of nine different Troys, and that it had existed at least a thousand years before the age of Priam and Agamemnon! The Troy of Homer is supposed to be the *sixth* of these buried cities. Its great ramparts of wrought stone (finer than any ‘Pelagic’ or ‘Cyclopean’ walls) enclose a considerable area and the remains of a high-terraced acropolis. In the stratum of this sixth city bronzes were found.¹ Moreover, there were unearthed many shards of the glazed and painted *wheel-made* ware, known as ‘Mycenaean,’ which

¹ But only one specimen of *iron*—a knife. In Homer, sharp-edged tools are sometimes made of iron, but only once is it mentioned as the material of weapons. See *Ancient Greece*, pp. 30, 61.

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at this epoch, about 1200, was much in vogue on Aegæan coasts and islands.

The first city of Troy was probably founded by some aboriginal non-Aryan race, such as the Cappadocians or the Carians (called 'barbarous-tongued' by Homer), but seemingly about 3000 B.C.—that is, about the time when Menes founded the First Egyptian Dynasty—Aryan tribes began first to press southward from Thrace, the Achæans invading Northern Greece and the Phrygians and Lycians passing over the Dardanelles into Asia Minor, where, after perhaps some centuries of conflict with aboriginal tribes (and Hittites?) and after repeated invasions, these Bhryges, or Phrygians, amalgamated with the native population, established themselves as the ruling race at Troy and in the whole north-western region of Asia Minor, in the same way as in Greece did the Achæans, with whom they were related in regard to language and religion and that chivalrous respect for courageous enemies which is so apparent on both sides in Homer's *Iliad*. It is indeed highly probable that the Pelopidae—that princely house to which Agamemnon and Menelaus belonged, and whose royal residence and place of sepulture was Mycenæ—came from Phrygia, as even cautious Thucydides was inclined to believe. The only question seems to be whether Pelops and Tantalus may not have belonged to the aboriginal population of what was later Phrygia and may not have crossed over to Greece and established themselves in the Peloponnese (the 'Island of Pelops') *before* the advent of the Phrygians, or in consequence of their earlier invasions; for, as we shall see, the ancient 'shaft-graves' discovered on the acropolis of Mycenæ are evidently the tombs of princes *anterior* to Agamemnon and other Achæan kings, and these were, according to tradition, Pelopidae, who had come from the other side of the Aegæan and who belonged to the same 'Aegæan' race as their Mycenæan subjects.

(b) Mycenæ

This close connexion of Mycenæ with the story of Troy induced Schliemann to make excavations on the site of its acropolis. Now the Greek traveller and writer Pausanias,

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who lived about A.D. 160, thus describes the ruins of this Mycenaean acropolis: ‘Some remnants of the encircling wall are still visible, together with a gate that has lions over it. These they say were built by the Cyclopes. . . . There is the tomb of Atreus and of the men whom Aegisthus slew at the banquet when they returned from Troy . . . and the tomb of Agamemnon.’ Trusting in this description, the excavator sunk a great pit, forty yards square, within the ramparts, not far from the famous Lion Gate (Fig. 31), and at a depth of some 25 feet found hewn vertically in the rock six square ‘shaft-tombs,’ in which beneath accumulated earth and stones were embedded no fewer than seventeen human bodies and a great number of precious relics—rings, bracelets, pins, brooches, necklaces, and hundreds of other ornaments of pure gold, or of amber, silver, bronze, or ivory, more than seven hundred gold plaques (probably once attached to women’s dresses), diadems of gold on the heads of the female bodies, and golden masks covering the faces of some of the men. (Fig. 34.)

It is scarcely wonderful that Schliemann telegraphed to the King of Greece announcing that he had discovered the tombs of the Achaean kings—of Atreus and of Agamemnon. But it seems certain that this time too, as in the case of Troy, he had discovered something far more ancient than he imagined, and that these ‘shaft-graves’ are the tombs of princes (probably Pelopidae) who ruled over the ‘Aegaeon’ inhabitants of Southern Greece before the Achaean Northmen came and established themselves as the dominant race in that region, perhaps finding it politic to intermarry with the old ruling family of the Pelopidae. Moreover, *pace* Pausanias, the tombs of the *Achaean* princes are evidently *not* within the walls of the acropolis, but are the later vaulted sepulchres, of which there are nine, built into the side of the hill, one of which—a beehive-shaped chamber, with cupola about 50 feet high once ornamented with bronze rosettes, approached by a deep passage and furnished with a once richly decorated façade with alabaster columns—was called by Pausanias the ‘Treasury of Atreus.’¹

¹ Portions of these columns are in the British Museum. The portal has, like the Lion Gate, a huge triangular stone (porphyry) above the lintel.

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Now the reasons why one believes this are most interesting for the student of art, for besides the fact that in all of these 'shaft-graves' (which remind one of the ancient 'shaft-sepulchres' of Egypt) skeletons, and even remnants of flesh and skin, were found, whereas in the Homeric age it was the almost invariable custom to *burn* the dead, very striking evidence is given by various objects found in these tombs, and in the vicinity, on which are depicted men and women attired in a fashion exceedingly different from that described by Homer as prevalent in the age of Agamemnon and Odysseus. Of these objects let us take five.

(1) On a fragment of a silver vessel (Fig. 35) is represented a siege-scene. Here the fore-fighters are almost (or quite) nude and are armed with slings and bows, while in the background one sees two warriors enveloped in great 'man-covering' shields, evidently hung from their necks, such as we find in ancient Cretan art, whereas in Homer the Achaeans and Argives are 'well-greaved,' bronze-clad, and bronze-helmeted, and generally carry in their hands small circular shields.¹

(2) The quaint figures depicted on a shard found near the Mycenaean acropolis and inserted in what is named the *Warrior Vase* (Fig. 33) bear small, crescent-shaped shields. With their stockings and tights and kilts, they surely cannot be intended to represent Homeric warriors.

(3) On a gold ring (p. 47) found near the acropolis, but perhaps of Cretan origin, is incised a curious ceremonial scene, such as we shall find in Cretan art, with representations of sun and ocean-stream (?) and a sky deity with the 'figure-of-eight shield' and the double-headed axe (*labrys*). But the point of special interest for us is the dress and coiffure of the women, as different as possible from that which we find described in Homer in the case of Achaean ladies, such as Penelope or Helen, with their *chiton*, *peplos*, and veil. Surely these tight-laced dames, with their nude busts and heavily flounced and padded modern-looking skirts, must have existed before the advent of the Achaeans, and probably

¹ This is however much disputed. Homer certainly sometimes mentions the huge ox-hide shield, such as that of Ajax, 'great as a tower.'



31. THE LION GATE OF MYCENAE

Photo Sebah



32. GOLDEN CUPS FROM VAPHIO

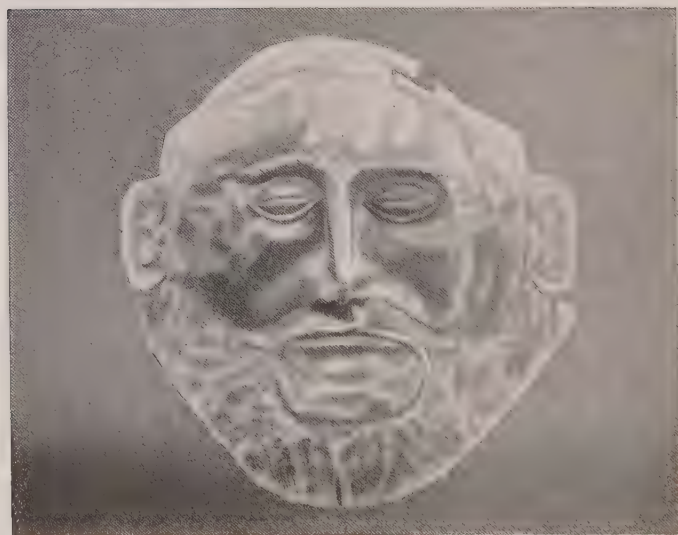
Photo Rhomaides



33. THE 'WARRIOR VASE'

Found at Mycenae

Photo English Photographic Co.



34. GOLDEN MASK OF ONE OF THE PRINCES BURIED AT MYCENAE

Photo Rhomaidēs

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belonged to that aboriginal Mediterranean race that we call ‘Aegaeon’—to which also the ancient Cretans belonged.

(4) Among the weapons found at Mycenae are two daggers of enamelled bronze very skilfully inlaid with silver and gold and a hard black substance. The art of inlaying metals was well known to the Achaeans, if we may believe Homer, who describes the process in a celebrated passage and gives us a wondrous specimen of inlay-work in his ‘Shield of



FROM A MYCENAEAN GOLD RING

Achilles.’ But in the case of these daggers it is not only the wonderful skill of the inlayer that is noticeable, but also the fact that, to judge from the scenes and figures depicted, we have here a product not of the Achaean but of the ‘Aegaeon’ era—of an art which long before the days of Agamemnon and Odysseus both in Greece and in Crete, and probably also in many other Aegaeon coast-lands and islands, had attained a very high degree of technical skill and had evolved qualities which, perhaps for the first time in the history of mankind, began to intimate the coming of the Golden Age of the great Greek artists. On one of these daggers (p. 48) is pictured a lion-hunt. Here, as in the siege-scene, the men are nude, except for a kind of bathing-drawers,

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and both the 'man-covering' shield and the 'figure-of-eight' shield are in evidence. The vivacity and variety

of attitude and of movement in the assailants and in the animals are intimated with such vigour and truth that one feels oneself in the presence of something generically different from even the best Egyptian or Assyrian bas-reliefs. The other dagger shows a river-scene where amidst the papyrus there are cats, or perhaps ichneumons, chasing wild duck. The motive is perhaps Egyptian, but the work is assuredly not Egyptian but 'Aegaeon.'

(5) 'Aegaeon' too is certainly the exceedingly fine *repoussé* work of two golden cups (Fig. 32) found at Vaphio, near Amyclae, the ancient capital of Laconia, in a great vaulted tomb which was brought to light by a landslip—perhaps the tomb of some Pelopid prince. Both in design and in execution the scene depicted (probably the capture of wild bulls) is astonishing. We see here, says Professor Gardner in his *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, the highest attainments of a mature art, far excelling the tentative experiments of the succeeding era—that of primitive Hellenic sculpture.

Astonishing also is the material of which these cups, as well as many other Mycenaean relics, are made; for no gold was to be found in the Peloponnese. Whence, we may ask, did it come to 'golden Mycenae,' as



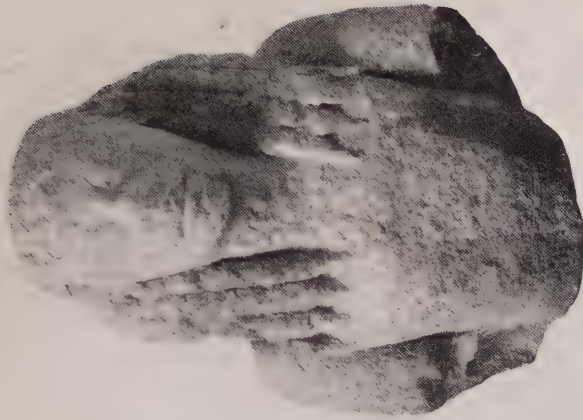
MYCENAEAN DAGGER

Homer calls it, and to Amyclae? Doubtless much came from Phrygia and Lydia, the lands of the Pelopidae and of the



35. SIEGE-SCENE ON FRAGMENT OF SILVER VASE

Found at Mycenae
Photo Maussell



36. CRETAN STATUE

From Eleutherna
Photo Maraghiannis, Athens



37. MINOAN, MYCENAEAN, AND TROJAN WARE

c. 2000-1300

Photo Maraghiannis

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river Pactolus, and of King Midas, and King Croesus. Doubtless too these Pelopid princes of the 'Aegaeans,' whom their tombs show to have been so wealthy, were able not only to import art-treasures from other lands, but to attract skilled craftsmen to Greece. But where could they find artists capable of such work? Certainly not in Egypt, nor in Chaldaea, nor in Phoenicia. If these Vaphio cups were not wrought by a Mycenaean 'Aegaeon,' they must, it seems, have been wrought by a Cretan.

(c) Crete

The excavations in Crete, begun about 1900, by Dr (now Sir Arthur) Evans, have disclosed an ancient and most wonderful civilization, dating from at least 3000 B.C., which was undreamt of even by those who imagined some historical facts behind the well-known words of Thucydides about King Minos and his powerful fleet, and behind the myths of the Labyrinth and the Minotaur. It is now certain that King Minos once really existed,¹ and on the site of Cnossus (which Homer calls the chief of the ninety, or hundred, cities of Crete) have been unearthed the remains of what perhaps was once the Labyrinth, made by Daedalus, and the dancing-ground that he made for fair-haired Ariadne, and it seems highly probable that even the Minotaur fable is an imaginative version of facts connected with the human sacrifices offered to the tauriform Phoenician Moloch and with Cretan bull-worship and 'bull-grappling' spectacles, in which doubtless many of the youths and maidens who were trained as athletes lost their lives.

For the antiquarian, the historian, and the linguist the excavations at Cnossus, Phaestus, and other places in Crete have brought to light a great amount of material.² We shall

¹ 'Minos' was evidently a regal title, like 'Pharaoh.' Homer speaks of a Minos (son of Zeus) who was made a judge in Hades. The Minos of the Minotaur myth was perhaps his grandson.

² Besides all else there are unexplored deposits, about 20 feet thick, below the stratum of the Bronze Age (c. 3000). These are said to be the *reliquiae* of about six thousand years. Then there are thousands of tablets covered with inscriptions, no word of which has as yet been satisfactorily deciphered. The old Cretan script was first pictorial, then hieroglyphic, and finally linear. See *Ancient Greece*, p. 37 sq., and illustrations.

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have to limit ourselves to a few of the chief architectural and pictorial relics, and shall find that with the latter the question of the old Cretan religion is closely associated.

The ruins unearthed by Evans on the site of Cnossus (Knosos) consist of the lower portions of a vast complex of buildings that probably formed the palace of the Cretan sea-kings. Store-rooms were found with rows of enormous Forty-Thieves kind of jars, and shrines with idols, and finely worked vessels of syenite and marble and alabaster and steatite, and many inscribed tablets, and a great deal of pottery, and a handsome stone seat which has been dignified with the title of the *Throne of Minos*. On many pillars of what seems to have been a great audience-hall, and elsewhere, is to be seen carved that double-headed axe which we have already seen on the Mycenaean ring—a symbol of deity which has been found elsewhere in Crete (*e.g.*, in the Phaestus palace and on a painted stone sarcophagus found at Hagia Triada) and also on coins of Caria and Tenedos and in Hittite (or Ionian ?) bas-reliefs. The word *labrys* (perhaps of Carian origin) denotes this mystic symbol, and perhaps thence the great Minoan palace received the name *Labyrinth*.¹

But perhaps the most interesting of all the relics of Minoan civilization are the wonderfully preserved frescos. These do not date from the earliest 'Minoan' era (*c.* 3000–2000), nor from the middle era (*c.* 2000–1600), for the ancient palace was evidently burnt and the conflagration (traces of which are still visible) is supposed to have taken place about 1850 B.C. They date seemingly from the same era (*c.* 1600–1400) as that of the Vaphio cups and the treasures found in the tombs of the 'Aegaeon' (Pelopid ?) princes at Mycenae—the era in which both Mycenaean and Cretan civilization were at their highest—before the advent of the Achaeans—and in which Egyptian art of the New Empire flourished under the great Pharaohs Thothmes III and Amenhotep III.²

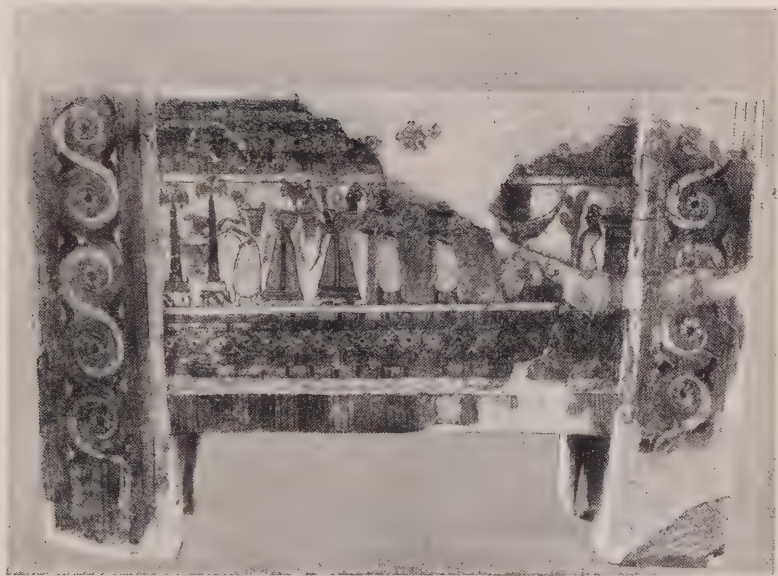
¹ It has been suggested that names ending in *-nth(os)*, such as *Corinth(os)*, *Tiryn(th)s*, *Hyacinth(os)*, etc., are 'Aegaeon.' Some derive *Labyrinth* from Egyptian words meaning 'on the lake'—in reference to Amenemhat's much greater Labyrinth on Lake Moeris.

² An Egyptian bas-relief shows Cretans ('Kephtiu,' or 'Men from over the Sea') offering presents to Thothmes III; and the hieroglyphic *cartouche* of Amenhotep III has been found at Mycenae.



38. 'THRONE OF MINOS'

Photo Maraghiannis



39. CRETAN SARCOPHAGUS

Photo Maraghiannis



40. THE CUP-BEARER, CNOSSUS
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One of the Cnossus frescos, that of a youthful cup-bearer—who in feature, dress, and coiffure is strikingly like the ‘Kephthiu’ of ancient Egyptian bas-reliefs—will speak for itself (see Fig. 40). Others depict similar youths, a grand lady in a splendid dress, and other dames with chalk-white faces (as in Egyptian and early Greek art) and with the heavy skirts and incredibly wasp-like waists that we have already seen in the case of the Mycenaean ring. Then there are scenes in which athletes (often boys or girls) are awaiting the charge of an infuriated bull, or are catching it by its horns and performing gymnastics of the most extraordinary nature over its back.¹ As already explained, these ‘bull-grapplings’ were exhibitions, doubtless of the most perilous and sensational nature, connected probably with the cult of the tauriform deity, called Moloch in the Bible, to whom by the Carthaginians and other Phoenician races in Mediterranean lands terrible human holocausts were offered—especially of youths and maidens—even down to the era of the Punic wars.² A very interesting and weird fresco is that given in Fig. 38, where a griffin with a mane of peacock feathers is lying amidst what look like tall Annunciation lilies. In connexion with these frescos may be again noted the painted stone sarcophagus, already mentioned as exhibiting the double-headed axe, for though a poor specimen of Minoan art it is interesting as representing a curious religious ceremony.

Artistically ‘Aegaeon’ pottery—especially Cretan and Mycenaean—is very important. Of the prehistoric (Neolithic) age, say from about 6000 to 3000, the relics found in Crete are copper daggers, seals, and black burnished pottery, very like the black *buccherò* of Etruscan tombs, decorated only with incised lines, sometimes filled in with white pigment. Of the early Minoan era (c. 3000–2000) we have, besides huge jars, hand-made, unglazed and also glazed, ware with painted spiral decoration (found also in some other Aegaeon islands). Many ‘beaked’ jugs belong to this period, toward

¹ In *Ancient Greece*, p. 21, we have what looks like a tame eland. A fine ‘bull-grappling’ fresco has also been found at Tiryns, in Greece.

² Bull-worship may have been also derived from the horrid cult of the Thracian Dionysus. For the transformation of the ancient religion of monster-deities and dread to that of the bright Olympians I may perhaps refer to p. 43 sq. of *Ancient Greece*.

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the end of which wheel-made Cretan ware apparently begins, although in other Aegaeon lands and in Cyprus the wheel seems not to have been used until some centuries later.¹

During the Middle Minoan era (c. 2000–1600) the pottery becomes richly polychrome, finely glazed, and of wonderfully delicate consistency, like porcelain. We begin also to note entirely new types of form and of decoration, the first heraldings of that exquisite beauty and artistic perfection which are characteristics of even the earliest classical Greek pottery and vase-painting (such as ‘old Corinthian’ of about 700–600). Especially beautiful and delicate is the Minoan pottery of this period which is called Kamáres ware. Many specimens of it, dating perhaps from 2000 B.C., have been found in a cave of this name on the Cretan Mount Ida, which shares with Mount Dicte the honour of being the mythical birthplace of Zeus. The paintings are sometimes beautiful geometric patterns, sometimes artistically conventionalized flowers, leaves, papyrus, sea-plants, shells, or marine animals, such as the polypus. While contemplating some examples of this very ancient Cretan ceramic, one feels convinced that the exquisite sense of proportion and the natural grace which always accompany true artistic power and which distinguish the best classic art and literature from all that is exaggerated, affected, eccentric, and self-advertising, existed—perhaps for the first time in the world’s history—among these people whom we call ‘Aegaeon’ and believe to have been some of the first inhabitants of Mediterranean coast-lands.

In Cyprus, Rhodes, Egypt, and even Sicily is found an archaic ‘Aegaeon’ pottery which goes by the name ‘Mycenaeon,’ although it is very doubtful whether Mycenae was an important centre of export. The earliest specimens are, like the Cretan, generally black or monochrome with incised lines filled with white pigment; then we find lustreless colours and geometric patterns; then lustrous glaze and designs similar to those of the Middle Cretan era, as well as sometimes rude delineations of men and horses.² This

¹ The potter’s wheel is mentioned by Homer (*e.g.*, *Il.* xviii, 600).

² For the introduction of the horse into Greece and Egypt see *Ancient Greece*, p. 13.

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Mycenaean ware is, as a rule, inferior in form and in decoration to the best Cretan pottery, but very beautiful specimens have been found, such as that shown in Fig. 37. A characteristic Mycenaean type is that of the false-necked amphora given in the same plate.

In connexion with Cretan pottery we may note the exceedingly curious so-called *Harvester Vase*, a portion of a soapstone (steatite) vessel on which is carved in relief (once covered perhaps with gold-leaf) a procession of people carrying what may be sheaves of corn, or palm branches.¹ The art of modelling in plaster was also practised very successfully. These plaster reliefs and figures were sometimes vividly coloured. The most striking relic of this nature is a life-sized bull’s head—perhaps once belonging to a complete bull—very finely modelled and painted.

Among the many seals and incised gems discovered in Crete some show ‘bull-grapplings’; others offer us the most grotesque and gruesome monstrosities, perhaps meant for demons and bogeys, or priests disguised as mummers. These were probably used as charms against evil influences. On others we have represented religious rituals, such as the *Uprooting of the Tree* (of Life?), where the women, as usual, wear the heavily flounced skirts and have impossible tight-laced waists. Others again show the Earth-mother (Ge, Rhea, or Cybele), who sometimes stands on a mountain (Ida?) attended by her lions.²

As already intimated, to judge from marks of fire, the earlier great royal palace at Cnossus seems to have been burnt, and the conflagration is believed to have taken place about 1850 B.C. Some five hundred years later, say about 1350, the later palace, as well as the town of Cnossus and the palace and town of Phaestus, were evidently almost entirely destroyed by fire. This is supposed to have happened during the great invasion of Greece and other Aegaeon lands by the Achaeon Northmen, and the sack of the palace was probably their work, or the work of some race, such as the Mycenaean, who were driven by them southward,

¹ Is it rather a religious procession? There is a man with a *sistrum* and some huge crested crane-like birds—possibly mummers. See *Ancient Greece*, Fig. 24.

² See *Ancient Greece*, pp. 50, 51. Her place is sometimes taken by the sacred villar—as on the Lion Gate at Mycenae.

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across the sea.¹ The invaders seem to have taken away almost all that was portable, for scarcely anything made of metal has been found, while various relics such as a once very beautifully decorated 'game-board' (probably for draughts, a game mentioned by Homer) have been forcibly deprived of their gold and silver ornamentation. See *Ancient Greece*, p. 22.

In consequence of this invasion Minoan sea-power, civilization, and art, after a brief revival, seem to have declined rapidly and at last (c. 1100) to have been swept away entirely by the barbarous and savage Dorians, who in Greece had already conquered the western Peloponnese and about a century later vanquished the Achæan-*'Aegæan'* princes of Argolis and burnt Mycenæ.² After the Dorian conquest there supervened a long Dark Age during which art in Crete entirely disappears and after which, as we shall see, also in Greece very few traces remain.

(d) Achæan (Homeric) Art

It will be remembered that about 1350 the Achæans, or *'Aegæans'* driven southward by the Achæans, sacked the palaces of Minos at Cnossus and Phaestus. These *'yellow-haired'* Achæans established themselves in Greece and many islands (such as Ithaca, the home of Odysseus) as the dominating race. In the Peloponnese there were Pelopid-Achæan kings of the house of Atreus at Sparta (Lacedaemon) and Argos, and in Northern Greece the Achæan stock, to which stock Peleus and his son Achilles belonged, ruled *'Pelagic Argos,'* called Phthiotis. The Atridae of Southern Argos

¹ Doubts have of late been raised on this point, but the evidence is I think incontestable that the Achæans were Northmen who descended from Central Europe. They are evidently the *Aqayuasha* of Egyptian inscriptions. Thucydides tells us that Agamemnon was master of *'many islands'*—and one of these was probably Crete. It is interesting to note, as a curiously distorted account of Cretan emigration to South Italy after the Achæan invasion, the myth related by Herodotus that Daedalus, fearing the wrath of Minos, flew across to Cumæ in Italy, and that when Minos went in pursuit and came to a tragic end in Sicily vast hosts of Cretans set forth thither and never returned. He adds that hereupon, Crete being almost empty, many Greeks came across and settled there, and he gives the date as three generations before the Trojan War, viz., about 1300.

² This conflagration perhaps choked and covered up the old *'shaft-graves'* of the acropolis so that their treasures remained intact for about 2800 years. Also at Tiryns are visible marks of a great fire, probably of the same date.

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chose the old ‘Aegaeon’ (Pelopid) capital, ‘Mycenae,’ as their residence. These Achaean Northmen were evidently not such a refined and artistic race as the Mycenaean whom they conquered; but they were not such savages as later the Dorians proved themselves, and they seem to have combined their Northern art and religion with that of their subjects, superimposing the very much brighter and more poetic Olympian hierarchy on the old cult of superstitious dread, and infusing virile vigour into ‘Aegaeon’ aestheticism; for, if we are to accept Homer’s descriptions, the Achaean warrior and ruler, although haughty and sometimes revengeful and crafty, was endowed with a nature affectionate, reverent, and generous, and with keen sensitiveness for all that is gracious and beautiful.

Of this age of Achaean supremacy (say from 1300 to 1100) we have scarcely any evidence except that offered by Homer. There is such a lack of relics, with the one great exception of the walls of Troy and dubious exceptions such as the ‘Treasury of Atreus’ and other vaulted tombs at Mycenae, that some writers regard the Homeric poems as purely imaginative. The whole story of the Trojan War, they assert, is as fictitious as are the adventures of Odysseus, and the descriptions of weapons and armour and dress and manners and customs and religion and arts and crafts are fanciful creations suggested by a later civilization—that of the age in which Homer, or whoever composed the poems, is believed to have lived, namely that post-Achaean Dark Age which was caused by the Dorian invasion.¹ But, whether or not the story of the siege of Troy (which certainly existed and was burnt) was such as is related in the *Iliad*, we have in the Homeric poems a very full picture of a civilization that not even the most imaginative poet could have evolved entirely out of his inner consciousness; and we may feel sure that

¹ Homer probably lived about 950 B.C.—some 250 years after the traditional date of the Trojan War. He frequently speaks of the men of his own age as far inferior to the heroes of the war, and now and then an anachronism seems to prove that he lived considerably after the coming of the Dorians (c. 1100). Thus in the *Odyssey* he speaks of the inhabitants of the ninety cities of Crete as ‘Achaeans, true-born Cretans . . . long-plumed Dorians and heaven-descended Pelasgians,’ although in the days of Odysseus the Dorians had not yet reached the Peloponnese. The mention too of *iron*, as used for tools, seems to show that the poems were written after the Dorian invasion.

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the descriptions given in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of everything connected with arts and crafts represent accurately what was reality some time during the Achæan, or the succeeding Dorian, supremacy, if not in Greece itself anyhow in the Ionian or Aeolian regions of Asia Minor in which the writer, or writers, of these poems evidently lived and whither the ruthless Dorian invaders had not penetrated. It will therefore be interesting to cite some of these numerous descriptions. I shall select them mostly from the *Odyssey*; but the *Iliad*, which confines itself almost entirely to camp-life and fighting, will of course furnish us with one example—the famous ‘Shield of Achilles.’

Firstly, as to **architecture**, we have in the *Odyssey* a description of a king’s palace—that of Alcinous—and of a chieftain’s home—that of Odysseus.¹ In the former the poet evidently draws a good deal on his imagination: the walls, he says, were bronzen (plated with bronze?) and ‘above was a cornice of cyan’ (blue metal, or vitreous cement?); the door inside was golden and had a handle of gold; the silver door-posts upheld a silver lintel and were set fast in a bronzen threshold. On each side of the porch were dogs of gold and of silver, devised by the god Hephaestus himself, ‘deathless and ageless watchers’—like the sphinxes and rams of Egyptian temples. In the great hall seats were ranged along the walls and were covered with delicately worked broideries—

Here too, fashioned in gold and on fair-built bases of marble,
Youths were standing and holding uplifted radiant torches.

Around this palace of the Phæacian king are grouped a luxuriant orchard, a vineyard, and a garden bright with verdure and flowers and irrigated by a perennial freshet. The home of Odysseus is described far more fully and realistically, for this part of the *Odyssey* deals with a theme intensely real and serious. As the story unfolds itself we become

¹ Also a glimpse of the palace of Menelaus with its ‘flashing of bronze and of ivory, amber and gold and of silver.’ Moreover we have the cottage and great ‘kraal’ of Eumæus the swineherd, and the orchard and farm buildings of old Laertes. In his appeal to Nausicaa Odysseus speaks of Apollo’s temple on Delos; in the Phæacian city (*Od.* vi) there is a ‘beautiful temple of Poseidon’; and in the *Iliad* are mentioned the shrine vowed to Apollo and Athene’s Trojan temple.

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familiar with the banquet-hall, the chambers of Telemachus and his mother Penelope, the portico, where at night summer-guests sleep on ‘bedsteads with beautiful carvings,’ and the great courtyard with its stables and granaries; and when Odysseus returns and the tragic slaughter of the suitors is planned and executed we seem to see vividly, now in daylight and now illuminated by flaring torches and braziers, every detail. To compare small things with great, the general scheme of this homestead was something like that of an Egyptian temple, or an Assyrian palace. It was fronted by a courtyard that was paved, or laid down with stamped earth, and was planted here and there with olives or other trees and surrounded by a palisade or a wall plastered and whitewashed and sometimes topped with a defence of thorn branches. From this courtyard one entered through the columned porch (*aitbousa*, or ‘sun-trap’) through the veranda (the ‘echoing portico’) into the great banquet-hall, whose roof was supported on columns or pillars; and behind this there were numerous chambers—workrooms underneath, and bedrooms and the treasure-chambers above.¹

Secondly, as to **sculpture**, besides somewhat imaginative automatic serving-girls attendant on Hephaestus, and the dogs of gold and silver, and golden torch-bearing youths in the palace of Alcinous, we have in *Iliad*, i, 28, an evident allusion to a statue of Apollo and in vi, 92 and 303, a description of the image of Athene in the Trojan acropolis—evidently imagined in a sitting position, as the *peplos*-offering is laid on her knees.² A specimen of metal-work, perhaps a high relief entirely in gold, is very wonderfully pictured in *Od.* xix, where Odysseus describes a brooch given him by Penelope—

Of gold it was fashioned, and furnished

Doubly with sockets for pins; and the front was embossed with a picture.
Here was a hound that was holding a dappled fawn with his forefeet,
Watching it struggle; and all that beheld were greatly astonished
How, though golden, the hound kept watching the fawn as he choked it,
While in the longing to win an escape with the legs it was writhing.

¹ There was also a vaulted (subterranean?) treasure-room where ‘piles were lying of gold and of copper,’ and vessels of oil and wine. For more details I may perhaps refer to the preface of my translation of the *Odyssey* (Harrap and Co.).

² Therefore not merely a *xoanon* (roughly carved block of wood) or a meteorite such as the ‘Palladium’ of Troy is generally imagined.

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Another such specimen, perhaps entirely of gold, perhaps, like the Shield, variegated with other metals, is the broad sword-belt crossing the breast of the phantom-Heracles in Hades (*Od.* xi), on which are pictured

Bears and boars of the forest and lions savagely glaring,
Turmoil of war and the slaying of men and battle and bloodshed.

The five-fold 'Shield of Achilles' (*Il.* xviii) was wrought by Hephaestus of 'unyielding bronze and tin and costly gold and silver.' In the centre 'he fashioned earth and sky and sea and the unwearied sun and the full moon and all the constellations with which heaven is crowned, the Pleiades and the Hyades and Orion and the Bear, which alone hath no share in the baths of Ocean'; and round the outer rim 'flowed the mighty strength of the river of Ocean,' and in the middle space were pictured scenes of city and country life—a wedding, a law-court, a siege, a sortie and an ambuscade, cattle-lifting, ploughing, reaping, vintage, cattle driven to water and attacked by lions, a valley full of a great flock of white sheep and sheepfolds and shepherds' huts; and lastly a dancing-ground 'like to that which once Daedalus made in broad Cnossus for fair Ariadne; and here maidens and youths are dancing, those crowned with fair garland and these with golden swords hanging from silver baldricks; and two acrobats are turning somersaults amidst the surrounding crowd, while a minstrel makes music with his harp.'

Whether we are meant to conceive all this in high or low relief—or as an inlay—it is not easy to say. Allowances must be made here for poetic imagination, and still more in the description of the 'Shield of Hercules' (perhaps by Hesiod), where the figure of Perseus is said to 'flit like a thought' in front of the shield.

As for goblets, jewellery, broideries, and other such treasures, we have already seen that Homer speaks of them frequently as Phoenician (Sidonian) work. A very graphic description is given in *Od.* xv of how a visit is paid to 'the isle Syrië' by Phoenician chapmen,

Hucksters with countless trinkets and gauds in their black-hulled vessel,

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and how by means of a specially beautiful 'necklace of gold that with droplets of amber was beaded' they succeed in kidnapping a child—later the good old swineherd, Eumaeus.

Doubtless many of the heirlooms or spoils of war that still existed in Achæan days, or in Homer's days, were not of Phœnician but of ancient 'Aegæan' workmanship, like the Vaphio cups and the jewellery and weapons found at Mycenæ and amid the ruins of the second city of Troy. Much too was evidently produced by craftsmen of the day, for in Homer we find descriptions of various crafts.¹ The following are a few of the many things of beauty to be found in the *Odyssey*, besides those already mentioned: two-cupped goblets of solid gold and silver with golden lips; ewers of gold and basins of silver; distaffs of gold and baskets of silver running on wheels; baths well polished, and bathing vessels of silver; thrones, chairs, and bedsteads brightly studded with silver and with beautiful carvings; couches inlaid with silver and ivory; polished tables; silver tables and golden bread-baskets (in Circe's palace); wool of rich sea-purple and of violet colour (evidently the Tyrian cuttle-fish dye); purple blankets and mantles; rich broideries 'glistening like to a star'; chests for treasures and vesture; harps, lutes, etc. Finally, among the jewels given to Penelope by the suitors are

a magnificent necklace,

Golden and beaded with amber that shone as the sun in his glory,

and two earrings,

Triple with pendants of mulberry colour and wonderful lustre.

NOTE ON THE DORIANS

When one speaks of the Dorians as ruthless vandals one should distinguish. At first they seem, like the Angles, to have exterminated the native civilization, but, as has happened in other cases, the intermingling of the vigorous Northern with

¹ *E.g.*, forging an axe and plunging it red-hot into water (*Od.* ix), the forge of Hephaestus and the making of the metal netting (*Od.* viii), gilding a cow's horns, and the smith's tools (*Od.* iii), coating silver with gold (*Od.* vi)—also carpentering, shipbuilding, weaving, the potter's wheel, etc. The craftsmen were doubtless not aristocratic Achæans, but of 'Aegæan' or other such origin.

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the softer Southern nature produced—where it took place, as it did in the Doric colonies—a fine type of artistic character. Thus many cities of the Hellenic world which in early days were Dorian, or half Dorian, such as Corinth, Argos, Sicyon, Syracuse, Acragas, Cnidus, and the islands of Aegina and Rhodes, long before Athens won the supremacy in art, were renowned for their sculpture, or their fine coinage, or their magnificent temples; and the ‘Doric’ order of architecture, the grandest ever invented, which before the age of Pericles was used almost universally in the mother-country and in Western Hellas, probably first received its name from the rich colonials of Dorian descent whose gold paid for the erection of splendid shrines. On the contrary, we find that at Sparta itself, where there was very little mixture of races and where the Doric Spartiate continued to form an exclusive, overweeningly dominant, aristocratic, and military caste, art was apparently regarded as of very minor importance.

And yet when we think of the art treasures and glories of Olympia, and of the influential and age-long connexion of Sparta with the Olympic festivals, we can hardly believe that Spartiate interests were purely of a military and an athletic nature. Indeed, although in regard to art there is a somewhat damnatory lack of testimony in favour of that Spartan character which Thucydides contrasts so severely with the Athenian, we do find here and there a fact asserted which we ought not to ignore. Thus it seems at least possible that as early as the seventh century—that is, at the end of the Dark Age and at the beginning of archaic Greek art—Cretan sculptors (*Daedalidae* perhaps, followers of the famous artificer Daedalus) found a welcome among the domineering Spartiates; and about the same time Sparta was visited by the great Lesbian musician Terpander; and the Lydian lyric poet Alcman is even said to have chosen it as his home.

By the way, although music does not form a part of our subject, I will note in passing that Terpander is popularly believed to have added three strings to the tetrachord of the lyre, and it may seem strange that the very conservative Spartans approved thereof, seeing that on a later occasion, when Timotheus of Miletus, who had added four strings to

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Terpander's heptachord, visited their city, the ephors (says Cicero) bade the extra strings to be broken before he was allowed to compete.¹ We know very little about Greek music of this age, but it seems that the Dorian differed from the Lydian, Aeolian, Phrygian, and Ionian, not only in 'mode' (scale?—pitch?) but also in rhythm, being not of an epic or lyric but of a martial character—such as suited the war-poetry of bards like Tyrtaeus. To accompany such verse the flute was used and sometimes the lyre (called also *chelys*, or 'tortoise-shell'), while the Homeric *cithara* or *phorminx* was probably the Northern (Achaean) harp, used mostly for epic recitation.

(e) Ionia

By about 1300 a tribe of 'Aegaeans' that called themselves 'Iavones,' driven from the Peloponnese by the Achaeans, had taken refuge in Attica and intermingled much with the Athenians, who, never having been permanently conquered by either Achaeans or Dorians (and for this reason scarce mentioned by Homer as allies of the Achaeans at Troy), were in later times always proud of their purely 'autochthonous' ('Pelagic' and Ionic) antecedents. These Ionians of Attica soon began, perhaps before the Trojan War,² to pass over to Asia Minor, where they founded, or captured from the Carians and other natives, important towns, such as Miletus and Ephesus.

The Dorian invasion of Aegaeon and Achaean lands, which lasted perhaps for a couple of centuries, beginning not very long after the traditional date of the sack of Troy (1184), evidently accentuated, though it did not originate, these migrations, and by the end of the 'Dark Age' that followed the Dorian invasion and preceded the beginnings of classic Greek art these Ionian colonists, much influenced doubtless by the neighbouring Lydians, who under their 'Heracleid' (Greek) kings at an early era were highly

¹ On the Cretan sarcophagus found at Hagia Triada, dating perhaps eight centuries before Terpander, a lyre with seven strings is depicted.

² Homer associates the Ionians with the Athenians at the siege of Troy and calls them '*chiton*-trailing,' perhaps in reference to their more artistic propensities.

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civilized,¹ had evidently attained a higher level than had Greece itself in such things as architecture, music, weaving, embroidery, etc., and had long used writing and had added various letters to the Phoenician alphabet before it was introduced into Greece. Long before the age of Pericles and the building of the Parthenon some of the cities of Greater Hellas, in Asia Minor, in Sicily, and in Southern Italy, were apparently richer and more advanced in art than any in the old country, and the great temples at Paestum, Selinus, Acragas, that of the Branchidae near Miletus, and the first temple of Artemis at Ephesus were probably quite as splendid as those at Olympia and Delphi. The influences of Ionian art and semi-Oriental luxury on the mother-city Athens were very strong. With the Ionic style of architecture much was doubtless introduced that helped to develop the wonderful outburst of artistic and intellectual activity of the Periclean era, but also doubtless much that was in sharp contrast to that *σωφροσύνη* (self-restraint) which is an essential characteristic of all that is greatest in Greek art and literature.

The great importance of Ionia in regard to the origins of classic Greek art makes us desirous to discover the origins of Ionian art. But except that these Ionians of Asia Minor and of Attica were of the same 'Aegean' race to which the Mycenaeans and Cretans of early days belonged, and derived thence their artistic nature, we know but little. The very few relics of primitive Ionian architecture and sculpture show plainly the influence of local and of more distant Oriental art.² The ancient native rock-tombs at Myra and elsewhere resemble the hypogea of Egypt and the rock-shrines of the Hittites, and the columns and entablatures of their façades offer perhaps the first elementary specimens of that 'Ionic order' which was introduced later into Greece and has spread thence over all the world.³ When adopted

¹ Herodotus says that the early Lydians sent colonists even to Italy and founded the Etruscan nation, and that they invented all kinds of Greek athletics, and also gold-and-silver (*electron*) coinage. The first coins were, however, seemingly struck by a predecessor of Croesus, about 700 B.C.

² But 'Aegean' idols of the Earth-mother and representations of the *labrys* (double-headed axe) have been discovered at Ephesus.

³ The origin of the Ionic capital with its two volutes was possibly an ox-head with incurved horns on the top of a pole. Such heads are found imitated in Persian capitals. Or the idea may have been taken from an overlapping cushion.

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by the Ionians it soon acquired grace and majesty, as is proved by the rare remains of early (or rebuilt) Ionian temples, *e.g.*, the solitary column still existing of the huge Heraion on Samos, the enormous columns of the Apollo temple of the Branchidae, and the relics of the first and second temples of Artemis at Ephesus. The Branchidae (Ionian) statues in the British Museum, which we shall notice in connexion with archaic classic sculpture, show unmistakably an Egyptian influence.

PART II

GREEK ART

EXCEPT in vase-paintings scarcely any trace has survived of Greek pictorial art. I shall therefore in this part of my work have to limit myself mainly to architecture and sculpture, of which Greece has left us such incomparable master-works, adding short notes on pottery, coins, and what little is known of Greek painting.

The story of Greek architecture begins about 600 B.C. It is true that long before this date great shrines had been built, as we have seen, both in Ionia and in the mother-country, but almost all the chief remains, some vast in extent and wondrously preserved, of genuine Greek temples that once existed in the Hellenic world date from the two centuries that lie between the years 600 and 400—say, between the archonship of Solon and the death of Socrates. Also genuine Hellenic sculpture began about the same time; but it was much slower in development, so that simultaneously with exceedingly fine early temples existed statues and reliefs of only a primitive character.

These two arts, and probably also painting—as well as literature—attained a marvellous perfection toward the end of this era, in the period generally known as the ‘age of Pericles,’ which we need not confine within the thirty years of his political supremacy (460–429). This wonderful artistic outburst was preceded by long evolution, and was followed by about a century in which Greek art declined to some extent in grandeur and dignity, though it retained very great beauty. Then, after the fall of the Greek republics and the establishment of Macedonian supremacy, we come to what is called ‘Hellenistic’ art. Our subject therefore divides itself into four parts, namely—

- (1) The *Dark Age* and the *archaic* era, from Dorian days down to the end of the Persian wars (c. 1100–478).

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- (2) The so-called *Pheidian* or *Periclean* era, from the end of the Persian wars until soon after the end of the Peloponnesian War (478-c. 400).
- (3) The *post-Pheidian* period, down to the death of Alexander the Great (c. 400-323).
- (4) The *Hellenistic* era.

CHAPTER I

DARK AGE AND ARCHAIC ERA¹

(a) 'Dipylon' and other Dark Age Art (c. 1100-776)

THE age of Achaean supremacy which we have been considering perhaps never existed as we conceive it, but these men and women and the world in which they lived have been brought by Homer's genius far nearer to us than are the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians and Cretans, of whose civilization we possess many and vast material relics. Without its *vates sacer* this Achaean age would doubtless be for us as complete a blank as are the three centuries which followed it—say, from the coming of the Dorians (c. 1100) until the traditional date of the first Olympiad, namely 776. Whether it is to be attributed to the vandalism of the Dorian invaders and to the constant migrations of tribes, or to the ill-luck of modern antiquarians, the relics of this age that have been discovered are exceedingly few. Nevertheless some relics do exist—which can scarcely be affirmed with certainty of the Achaean age—and we may feel sure that in this so-called Dark Age intellectual interests were not extinct, for it seems provable that both Homer and Hesiod lived at this epoch and that the rudiments of the Greek alphabet were introduced (perhaps from the Phoenicians by the Ionians) about the date 900 B.C.²

Firstly, as to **architecture**, there exist at Olympia the stone foundations of a temple of Hera which probably date from about 900 and are the most ancient relics of a Greek temple extant. They were originally surmounted by walls of sun-baked brick and by wooden pillars. Stone columns were afterward substituted, perhaps gradually; for the remains

¹ In this chapter and in others I have drawn largely from my volume on *Ancient Greece* (Harrap and Co.).

² The earliest known inscriptions in Greek script date from about 700. One of these is the signature on the *François Vase*, for which see index.

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of thirty-six shafts and twenty capitals show that they were almost all different. The Greek writer Pausanias saw one old wooden pillar still standing. The famous *Hermes* by Praxiteles, one of the two extant single statues that we know for certain to be the actual work of a very great Greek sculptor (for Pausanias saw it standing near where it was discovered), was found embedded in the clay of the ancient sun-baked bricks.

Of large **statues** produced in Greece during this Dark Age there is no trace, as we shall see when we examine the origins of classic Greek sculpture.¹ But thousands of bronzes, leaden, and terra-cotta figurines have been discovered at Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Sparta, and elsewhere, testifying to no mean civilization and to an enormous cult of certain deities—such as the cruel Artemis Orthia, at whose altar Spartan youths were flogged, sometimes to death; and still more interesting and instructive is the pottery.

Much of the Dark Age pottery was first discovered in a cemetery near the ruins of the Dipylon ('Double Gate') of Athens, and hence 'Dipylon pottery' is used to denote a certain kind of ware dating from this period and found also in Boeotia, on Aegina and Thera, at Tiryns and Argos and elsewhere. The earliest 'Dipylon' vases, many of which are of large size and entire, having been found standing upright on the top of excavated tombs, have only geometric decoration—black on lustrous yellow—but ere long birds and horses and other animals of an amusingly primitive type, very much less artistic than the products of 'Aegean' art, begin to appear. Then we have more ambitious pictures—biremes crowded with rowers, which prove that Athens was already a rising naval state, and two-horsed chariots, with wondrously long-legged, greyhound-shaped horses, and men whose wasp-waists and huge shields remind one of Minoan art. Then there are four-horsed chariots, and even horsemen—things unknown to Homer's heroes. Lastly, on later 'Dipylon' vases we find painted quite crowded scenes of sea-fights, of processions, and of funeral ceremonies, some of them intimating a wealth and a love of ostentation

¹ The Lions of Mycenae date of course from the much earlier 'Aegean' age.



41. 'DIPYLON' VASE

Two sides. c. 850 B.C.

British Museum

Photo Mansell



42. ANCIENT GREEK POTTERY

Upper row: 'Dipylon' ware, c. 800. Lower row (left to right): 'Phaleron,' Samian, 'Old Corinthian,' c. 700-600

Photo Mansell

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that seem to prove this age to have been considerably less dark and dreary than we are apt to imagine.

'Dipylon' women, to judge from these vase paintings, were in appearance much like ancient Cretan and Mycenaean dames, with very slender waists, tight bodices, and heavily flounced bell-shaped skirts.¹ It is evident that the elegant many-brooched *peplos* worn by Homer's Achaean ladies, if it ever existed except in the poet's imagination, and ever became fashionable at Athens, had in the period 1000-800 given way again to the older Mycenaean style of cut-out and sewn dress that needed neither brooches nor pins. But in connexion with later 'Dipylon' vases have been found great numbers of the long metal pins and *fibulae* (safety-pins) used in the Doric female dress.² It would therefore seem as if before the end of this Dark Age, say about 800, the fashion had again changed; and this is proved by the *François Vase* (Fig. 49), which dates from about 650.

Of the same age as 'Dipylon' vases and bronzes rare specimens have been found of a very much more beautiful character both as regards shape and decoration. Among those of special note are exquisitely shaped 'proto-Corinthian' oil-flasks (*lekythi*), of which examples may be seen in the British Museum, as also of Samian jugs (called 'Fikellura' from the cemetery in Rhodes where the best specimens were unearthed), and of heavy but finely shaped Boeotian amphoras, some with moulded figures, and 'old Corinthian' pottery, heavy but well proportioned and adorned with exceedingly fine artistic sense, the conventionalized animals and flowers, painted in rich browns and yellows, being perhaps superior to anything that we have yet met with.

Lastly, there are extant about fifty two-handled jugs of what is called 'Phaleron' ware—the first specimen having been found on the road to Phaleron. These too are far more artistic than the 'Dipylon' vases, and seem to show Oriental influence. For the art student they are therefore even more interesting than the 'Dipylon' vases with their revelations of Greek life during the Dark Age. (See Fig. 42.)

¹ Hesiod, who lived probably about 850, applies to a fashionably dressed woman an adjective that means 'furnished behind with a big bustle.'

² These long Doric stiletto-like pins were abolished in 568 because of a murder committed by Athenian women. (*Ancient Greece*, p. 142.)

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(b) Archaic Era (c. 776-478)

Architecture. To this era belong not a few of the grandest Greek temples, some of which—thanks not only to their massiveness but still more to the fundamental principles of their construction—still exist in a wonderful state of preservation. The earliest of these still standing temples, or portions of temples, dates, as we have seen, from about 600 B.C., and but little can be said for certain about those of an earlier type, of which only the foundations or a few fragments have been discovered. Our knowledge therefore of archaic Greek architecture begins at a time when it had already attained very great beauty and dignity, and when the two ancient Hellenic orders, the Doric and the Ionic, had received their permanent characteristics. Therefore it will be well, after a few remarks on the general plan of the Greek temple, to consider these two famous styles (for the Corinthian belongs to a later age), and then give a list of the chief Hellenic buildings of this era.

The original Greek shrine, which was a very simple construction, was in all probability not imitated from anything so vast as the temples of the Pharaohs, nor from those of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Phoenicians, or Cretans, but simply from an ordinary Greek palace or house, somewhat like that of Alcinous or that of Odysseus, already described. It was generally an oblong—sometimes a round—building of wood or sun-burnt brick, and had a porch. This porch sometimes had side walls called *antae*, and a couple of pillars in front, so that the whole building now consisted of an inner shrine (*naós*) and a forecourt (*prónaos*), as shown by the relics of the Treasure-house of Megara at Delphi. Then the row of pillars, or columns, was extended across the whole front, and the side walls were omitted, so that an open portico was formed, as in the Erechtheion. Then such a portico was placed at both ends of the building, as in the Nike temple at Athens. Then a series of columns was extended round the whole building, which was said to be *peripteros*—i.e., ‘aisled on all sides’; and the porticos thus had two rows of columns, as in the Parthenon. Lastly, *two* series of columns were placed round the whole edifice (called

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now *dipteros*, two-aisled), and there was a many-columned portico at each end, as in the Artemis temple at Ephesus. The inner sanctuary (*ναὸς* or *σηκός*, shrine or fold) was generally surrounded by walls, inside which were frequently, as in the Parthenon and at Paestum, columns (sometimes in two tiers, one above the other) forming a nave and side aisles and perhaps supporting the roof—for it is very doubtful whether the sanctuary of a Greek temple was ever entirely *hypæthral* (under the open sky). Most probably there was an aperture in the roof (as in the Roman Pantheon) to allow the image of the deity to be illuminated by the morning sun.

Doric was the style used almost exclusively in Greece and in the Western Hellenic world until after the Persian wars. The Ionic style, in spite of the great fame of the mighty temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and the intimate relations of Ionia with Athens, was scarcely used in Greece in archaic times, a rare exception being the Treasury at Delphi of the people of Cnidus, which Carian city was practically Ionian. This Treasury dates from the sixth century, and therefore from the age of King Croesus of Lydia, whose capture of Ephesus and conquest of Ionia in 560 did not put an end to the intercourse between the Ionians and the Greeks, seeing that he was an admirer of everything Hellenic. And when in 546 Cyrus the Persian subdued all Ionia, except Samos and its king Polycrates, and still more when in 499 the Ionian revolt broke out and brought the avenging hosts of Persia down on Ionia and on Greece itself, great migrations of Ionians to the old country evidently took place; and it was then that Ionian architects succeeded in introducing their native style of architecture to the favour of the Athenians, so that henceforth it was a rival, or rather became recognized as a sister-style, of the Doric, and shared its glories on the Acropolis during the Peloponnesian War, and in later days in many a Grecian and Hellenistic and Roman city.

The Doric style, as we have seen, probably received its name from the fact that most of the great Doric temples were built—perhaps by the more artistic subject classes—under the orders, or at the expense, of rich Dorian lords and governors. Many of the greatest of these Doric temples were

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erected in 'Greater Hellas'—in those cities of Southern Italy and Sicily some of which, as also Greek cities in Asia Minor, at an early period outrivalled the foremost cities of the mother-country in wealth and splendour. Whence originated the Doric column, topped with its *abacus* and *echinus*, is not easy to discover. Some would trace it back to what they call the 'Proto-Doric' column found in ancient Egyptian temples. But it seems more reasonable to suppose that the first idea of the very simple capital came from laying a broad, flat, square piece of stone or wood on the top of a smaller, rounded, saucer-shaped piece, and placing them between the wooden uprights and the horizontal beam in order to help in distributing and sustaining the weight—as is done in many Alpine chalets. There are moreover other characteristics of the Doric order (such as the 'triglyph,' an evident imitation of the end of a roof beam) which, as is the case also with Gothic, point to a wooden original and a Northern origin.

In the pictures given of temples it will be noticed at once that the Doric column has no base and is fluted. Indeed, the shafts of all three orders have almost always (in ancient buildings) parallel flutings. The Doric are sharp-edged, shallower and fewer (twenty in the Parthenon); the Ionic and Corinthian are usually separated by fillets, are semi-circular, and number from twenty-four to thirty-two. Sometimes the lower part of the Ionic column was left plain, or was used (as at Ephesus) for sculptured reliefs. In later times a debased taste permitted spiral flutings—almost as distressing a falsity as the spiral column of the Middle Ages.

It will also be noticed that the Dorian column is sturdier and less prone to gracefulness than the Ionian, a fact perhaps significant of the different character of the two peoples.¹ Also, besides the base of the Ionic column, there is a very marked difference in regard to the entablature. The Ionic architrave is cut into three planes, each projecting below,

¹ The height of the Ionic column is usually sixteen to eighteen *modules* (semi-diameters), that of the Parthenon (Doric) columns is twelve, and in the great Paestum temple it is only eight. In pictures one may note that the Doric column tapers, whereas in the Ionic this is scarcely perceptible. What is not easy to perceive, but what exists in many Doric temples, is a slight outward curve (*entasis*) in the middle. In the Ceres temple at Paestum it is disagreeably noticeable. The number of external columns in the Parthenon is 8×17 (counting the corner one twice), but at Paestum and Segesta it is 6×14 .

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and in Ionian buildings is merely topped by a cornice with rows of beads, palmettes, and egg mouldings. In Attic-Ionic there is a frieze, either plain or filled with a number of figures forming a continuous procession or series. In the Doric order the architrave is plain, or ornamented with shields, but the frieze consists of a number of spaces (*metopae*), either left plain or else filled with a single group of figures, and each metope is divided from the next by a kind of tablet (triglyph) of three vertical bands sundered by three grooves—evidently, as we have seen, a survival in stone of the end of the roof beam in the primitive wooden edifice, while the small spherical ornaments (*mutuli*) below the triglyphs and the cornice may represent nail-heads, or rain-drops.

All these details are intensely interesting because in the finest of these ancient Greek temples, of which luckily several remain fairly intact, we have what more nearly approaches perfection, in regard to nobility and grandeur, than in any other existing work of architecture. It is not mere size but impressive size combined with exquisite proportions that lends them this nobility and grandeur. In area and height they are much smaller than our largest cathedrals, and Herodotus was probably right when he said that ‘although the temple of Ephesus is notable, and also the temple of Samos, if all the great works of the Greeks could be put together in one they would not equal’ certain buildings to be seen in Egypt. The greatest (but, like its Athenian namesake, never completed) temple in the Hellenic world was the Olympieion at Agragas in Sicily, which was 363 feet long, whereas St Peter’s at Rome has a length of 613 feet; and the height of the Ionic columns of the temples of Ephesus and of the Branchidae was about 60 feet, and that of the Corinthian columns, still standing, of the Athenian Olympieion is a little less, so that they are considerably lower than the Luxor columns and are incomparably lower than many of our heaven-soaring piles.

The chief extant buildings, or remains of buildings, of this archaic era are :

(1) Relics of the Treasure-houses of various Hellenic cities at Olympia, where, as we have seen, remains of a very old temple of Hera have been discovered, and where there existed from ancient days temples of Zeus and Pelops. Later, splendid marble fanes were built both within and without the sacred

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enclosure (the *Altis* = ἄλσος); of these, the new Zeus temple, begun in 470, belongs to the next era, when more than eighty altars to various deities testified to the vast numbers of worshippers that came from all parts of Hellas. The avenues were lined with statues of victorious athletes, and within the temples were erected masterpieces of famous sculptors, such as the *Zeus* of Pheidias, the *Victory* of Paeonius, and the *Hermes* of Praxiteles.

(2) Seven monolith, limestone, stucco-faced columns of a temple (of Apollo?) at Corinth. Doric: 6×15 . Perhaps built by the tyrant Periander, c. 600. Height only $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet ($7\frac{2}{3}$ modules). Very perceptible entasis. Massive capitals.

(3) Remains of the great and splendid temple of Pythian Apollo at Delphi, built (by the Alcmaeonidae) to replace the old shrine which was burnt in 548. The relics show that the outer colonnades were Doric, and the inner Ionic. Votive golden shields were attached to the architrave after the battle of Marathon (490).

(4) The temple of Zeus, the Olympieion, at Athens, originally a Doric temple planned by Peisistratus (c. 530) on such a vast scale that it was left unfinished till Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria erected the magnificent Corinthian columns, fifteen of which still stand (*Ancient Greece*, p. 456). Augustus continued the work. Livy speaks of it as 'the only temple on earth worthy of the god.' Hadrian (about A.D. 120) enlarged it till it had a hundred huge columns.

(5) Twenty-two limestone, stucco-faced columns, bearing architraves, of a temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina. Doric: 6×12 . Built perhaps before 500. The famous statues of the pediments (now at Munich) were probably put up after the battle of Salamis (480).

(6) Remains of seven Doric temples, some of great size, at Selinus, South-west Sicily. The most ancient was built c. 620. Many of its huge columns are still lying side by side, just as they fell when a great earthquake (it is not known when) overthrew all the temples at Selinus, and some at Agragas. For the very primitive metope sculptures see p. 78, and *Ancient Greece*, p. 226.

(7) At Paestum (Poseidonia), in Southern Italy, a colony of Sybaris, are still standing on the site of the vanished city three fine Doric temples, built probably c. 550–530 (some say later). The so-called Basilica (9×18 , and therefore unusually broad) is perhaps the oldest, but the still almost intact temple of Poseidon (Neptune) is by far the finest—is indeed the most impressive of all extant Greek temples, though not so exquisitely proportioned as the Parthenon. The third temple, that of Demeter (Ceres), is also a splendid ruin, but the curve (entasis) of the columns is disagreeably perceptible.

(8) At Agragas (Agrigentum, Girgenti) are the ruins of a great temple of Heracles of c. 500. Many other splendid Doric temples were erected after the battle of Himera, perhaps fought on the same day as that of Salamis (480). These will be discussed later, as well as the great temple of Segesta.

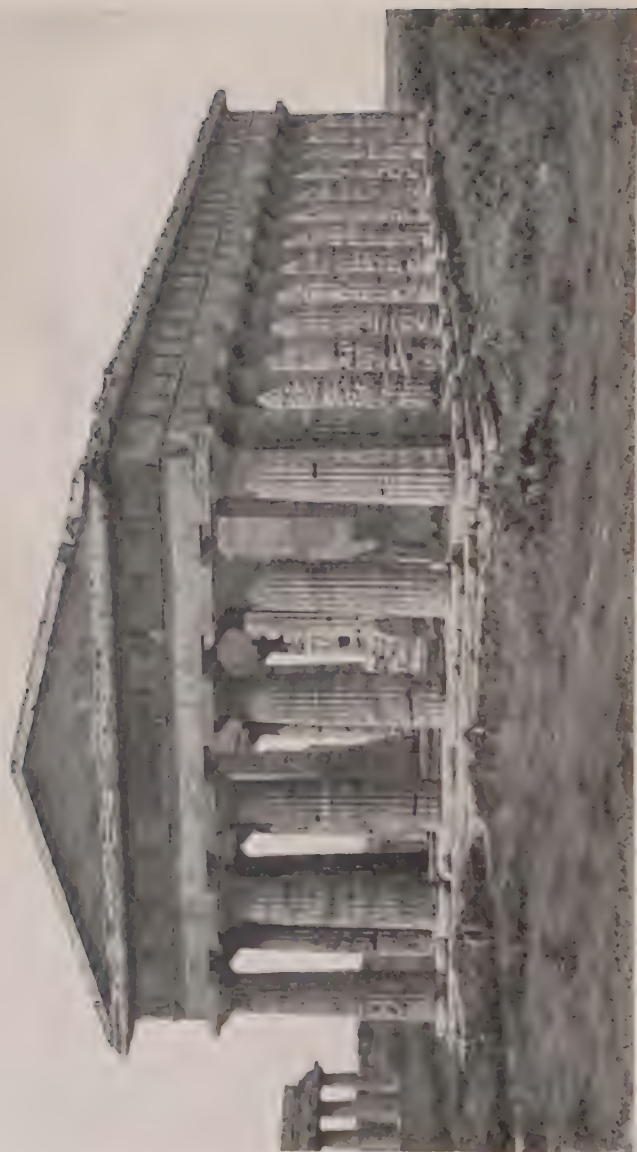
(9) On the Lacinian promontory, near Crotona, in Southern Italy, stood until A.D. 1600 the great Doric temple which was built c. 480 B.C. to replace the ancient fane that for centuries had greeted the Greek on his voyage to the West. It was demolished by a bishop for the sake of the material. It possessed a famous picture of Helen by Zeuxis. Hannibal here slaughtered two thousand Italian prisoners and put up a brass tablet (used by Polybius) to



43. TEMPLE OF APHAIA, AEGINA
Photo Simiriottis, Athens



44. PART OF THE AEGINA PEDIMENT
Photo F. Bruckmann



45. TEMPLE OF POSEIDON
Paestum, S. Italy
Photo Brogi

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record his victories. Two columns survived till 1638, when one was overthrown by an earthquake. One still remains. See *Ancient Greece*, Fig. 40.

(10) The famous ancient oracular fane of Apollo near Miletus, called the Temple of the Branchidae (the priestly family in charge, whose tragic fate disgraces the memory of Alexander the Great), was burnt by the Persians about 494. Of this old Ionic temple nothing is extant but the statues described on p. 77. Of the great temple built on its site in the age of Alexander several magnificent Ionic columns remain, partially buried. To the old temple Pharaoh Necho presented his golden cuirass before the battle of Carchemish (603) and Croesus made costly gifts.

(11) On Samos there was a huge Ionic fane dedicated to Hera (Juno). It was finished by Polycrates, but soon afterward burnt by the Persians, in the days of Herodotus (*c.* 450), who calls it the greatest of Greek temples. Of this one lofty Ionic column remains.

(12) The original (doubtless Ionic) temple of Artemis (Diana) near Ephesus was burnt by the wild Cimmerians about 678. The second was finished by Croesus after his capture of the city *c.* 560 (on the drum of a column, in the British Museum, his name has been conjectured). This, the only Greek temple spared by Xerxes, was burnt down by Herostratus (merely to perpetuate his name!) on the very night on which Alexander the Great was born. The third temple, finished *c.* 300 by the architect Dinocrates, was one of the Seven Wonders, and continued in use (see Acts xix) till the abolition of paganism. (For the sculptures from this temple see index.)

Sculpture. We have seen how in the older religion of Greece and Crete a dread of the supernatural revealed itself in grotesque and repulsive idols, formless stocks and stones, fetishes, symbols of divinity, and so on. This *δεισιδαιμονία*, or superstitious awe, was by no means totally eliminated by the advent of Zeus, the 'Father of the Day,' *Diespiter*, and his bright retinue of Olympian deities, for we find the old 'chthonian' (netherworld) cult persisting much later in Orphic rites and Eleusinian mysteries; but a very wonderful change seems to have taken place, so that within a comparatively short time the fetish-worship paid to some ghoulish monstrosity or meteorite gave place to reverence for the image of a god—such as a Pheidian *Zeus* or *Athene*—not as an object of dread, but as a manifestation of divine grandeur, serenity, and beauty. Whether we regard the externalities of early Hellenic sculpture as derived mainly from the 'Aegaeans' or from the Cretans, Egyptians, Assyrians, or other Orientals, the mystic vital force which effected this wondrous spiritual change remains inexplicable; for in none of these races, in spite of their marvellous civilizations,

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is there any trace, or indeed any foreshadowing, of such development as this, which made the classic sculpture of Greece, as also its literature and to a large extent its architecture, an eternal norm and inspiration for human art.

The archaic Greek statue was usually an idol. The earliest form was a rude figure of clay or wood or lead, such as one finds by hundreds on sites of temples, or a grotesque image carved from a tree-trunk,¹ or a 'heaven-fallen' stone, such as the Ephesian and Tauric Artemis, or a symbolic pillar—such as one hears of in the Bible and sees above the Lion Gate at Mycenae and in representations of the 'Aegean' Earth-mother.

The earliest important work of sculpture of this archaic era of whose existence in Greece we have historic record is the so-called *Chest of Cypselus*, presented probably by Periander to the temple of Hera at Olympia about 600 B.C., and seen there about eight hundred years later by Pausanias.² It had thirty-three panels of cedar-wood reliefs, adorned with gold and ivory, representing the deeds of Pelops, Perseus, Heracles, etc. Whether it was genuine Greek work one cannot tell. Another work of about the same date, the *Amyclaeon Throne*, decorated with (probably bronzen) reliefs and with figures of Tritons, Graces, Seasons, etc., is said to have been by an Ionian sculptor, Bathycles of Magnesia—one of the over-sea artists who visited Sparta in early days.

A point to note here is that this evidently rich and artistic work by a colonial Hellenic artist was used (at Amyclae, the old capital of the Pelopid-Achaean kings, long before this time annexed by Sparta) as the throne, or pedestal, for the image of some Greek god, and that this 'god' was, according to Pausanias, merely a *bronzen pillar*, about 45 feet high, 'with head and hands and feet attached.' Thus we have already a work of art showing by its Graces and Seasons the new Hellenic spirit, but combined with a monstrous and grotesque survival of the old religion.³

¹ Called a *ξύλον* ('carved thing'). See Hdt. v, 82.

² *Ancient Greece*, pp. 129, 220.

³ Doubtless in Homer's day a great deal of 'chthonian' cult still survived, such as we find later in Hesiod, but in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is scarcely a trace of 'spook,' grotesqueness being changed into beauty, as in the epithet *γλαυκῶπις*, originally doubtless 'owl-faced,' but used by Homer evidently with the meaning 'bright-eyed,' or 'grey-eyed.' Old *ξύλα* and monstrosities such as a horse-headed Demeter, etc., were kept in temples even in Periclean times.

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The relics of archaic Hellenic sculpture may be classed conveniently as follows. It will be seen that the earliest specimens were found in the Aegæan islands, in Ionia, and in Sicily. Then we come to Athens and the Peloponnese and Aegina.

(1) A very early type, no longer a mere ξόανον (block or pillar), is columnar in its lower half, with legs entirely hidden by a stiff skirt (not drapery), beneath which the feet protrude side by side. The head-dress has an Egyptian or Oriental character and there are curls of (false ?) hair hanging down on the shoulders. A good specimen is the *Artemis* (?) found in Delos, where, perhaps about A.D. 600, it was dedicated by a certain Nicandra of Naxos. A headless *Hera* found in Samos, and now in the Louvre, has similarly a columnar lower half.

(2) In the Branchidae statues, massive, heavily draped seated figures (now in the British Museum) that once, in Egyptian fashion, flanked the avenue of the oracular temple of Apollo at Didyma, near Miletus, we have, as in many Egyptian statues, the body and extremities forming one solid block with the seat. The specimen given (Fig. 46) is inscribed with the name Chares of Teichiussa—probably a tyrant of Miletus long before its destruction by Darius in 494. Almost the only relic of Cretan statuary art (Fig. 36) was also perhaps of this nature; and the pendent tresses, as in the *Artemis*, seem likewise to show Egyptian influence. And let us note in passing that although Cretan statues are so rare, tradition affirms that the Cretan Daedalus, the maker of the Labyrinth, the great artificer in metal work, and the inventor of flying, also made statues which could see and walk so that they had to be chained to their pedestals—an imaginative way perhaps of saying that he first gave them usable-looking eyes and legs and freed their arms. The *Daedalidae*, his followers, are said moreover to have introduced real statuary into Greece.

(3) Next, we have figures with *wings*—probably due to Oriental influence. In classical Greek art wings were somewhat rarely used, as being unnatural adjuncts to that human form in whose perfection deity manifested itself. We find indeed great wings in statues of Victory

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(Fig. 93) and Death (Fig. 73) and Cupid and the Winds, etc., but to Hermes, the Messenger, and to Hypnos (Sleep) are given in a sculpture only symbolical winglets, and floating figures without any wings—wingless Victories and others—seem to have existed.¹ Thus the Greek spirit, accepting what in Egyptian and Oriental art had degenerated into grotesqueness, transformed it into a thing of beauty. But at first the Hellenic winged figure was grotesque enough, if we may judge from the remains of a very curious and uncouth *Nike* (Victory) found in Delos, and now at Athens. The figure has unmistakable legs, bent in the act of rapid motion, and from small bronze imitations found at Athens and elsewhere it is evident that the statue had four, or even six, great clumsy wings, such as one sees in Assyrian art.² Of about the same date (c. 550) is the much more artistic *Harpy Tomb* relief, probably an Ionic work but found in Lycia and now in the British Museum (Fig. 47). The winged bird-like figures are evidently death-goddesses who are carrying away the souls of the dead. This relief was originally painted, but the colours have vanished.

(4) Among the ruins of the oldest temple of Selinus, Sicily, have been found some very curious—indeed hideous—metope reliefs, originally (to judge from faint traces of colour) vividly painted, with dark blue backgrounds.³ They show how incredibly primitive Hellenic sculpture had remained at a time when these magnificent Doric temples were built (c. 600). Another metope relief, from a somewhat later Selinus temple, shows Europa on the bull passing from Phoenicia to Crete. It is much more advanced in conception and execution, and is perhaps the work of a Cretan sculptor.

(5) Very important discoveries of archaic sculpture, and of other relics, were made on the Athenian Acropolis in

¹ Virgil evidently means us to imagine Sleep (v, 66r) and Mercury (i, 30r) with great wings—but, as Lessing has shown, poetry and sculpture have each their own rules, and, we may add, painting has hers too. What is grand and beautiful in poetry and in the angels of Italian painters would often offend in sculpture. In vase-painting the Greeks used wings more freely.

² A pedestal found near it gives Achermos of Chios as one of its sculptors—a most interesting fact, for Aristophanes asserts that the Chian Achermos first made a winged Nike.

³ Casts may be seen in the British Museum. The *Perseus and Medusa* is repulsive, but the four horses of the *quadrigae*, all facing the spectator, are vigorous and cleverly foreshortened.



46. STATUE FROM THE BRANCHIDAE TEMPLE
From Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)



47. THE 'HARPY TOMB'
Photo Mansell



48. ARCHAIC STATUE

Excavated on the Acropolis

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From Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*
(Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

DARK AGE AND ARCHAIC ERA

1882-87. The Persians, as all know, at the time of the battle of Salamis (480) sacked Athens and burnt or broke down, as far as they could, every temple and monument. After they had gone the Athenians decided to increase the area of the Acropolis in order to erect greater buildings. They therefore built strong walls on its upper slopes and filled in the spaces between them and the top of the hill with the remnants of the old temples. Among these remnants have been found (a) limestone figures of Heracles and the Hydra, of a serpentine monster with three human heads, of Athene battling with Giants, and other such primitive sculptures, all evidently once painted in vivid colours and meant as adornments for the pediments of ancient fanes; (b) fourteen female draped figures in Parian marble—votive portraits, perhaps, of priestesses of Athene, such as those we have already met with in Phoenician art. They are in slightly diverse attitudes, but all have the left foot and one arm advanced, as if, like the Phoenician-Cypriot statues, presenting a flower or a dove. The drapery (Fig. 48) is of delicate and elaborate workmanship, the dress being a finely woven Ionic *chiton* with sometimes a richly decorated *peplos* thrown over the shoulders—evidently the fashionable female attire in the age of Peisistratus, for it was only eight years before he seized power that the dramatic event took place which forced Athenian women to relinquish the Doric costume (p. 69). The more ancient of these ‘*Aunts*,’ as they are sometimes called, have goggle eyes and the well-known archaic smile. In the later the faces have character and the forms are finely modelled, showing distinct preheraldings of the incomparable grace of classic Athenian sculpture.

(6) Many of the later Greek statues of the archaic period are of the ‘nude male’ type and show a very careful study of the human body. Not seldom they are Apollos and, as natural in the case of religious images, they preserve an antiquated traditional head with the archaic grimace and the Egyptian wig; but the body and limbs are, though rather rigid, finely treated. Such Apollos have been found in Boeotia, but works of this nude type seem to have been a speciality of Peloponnesian sculptors (of Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth), who also supplied the large demand for statues

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of victorious athletes. Unfortunately, most of these bronzes have disappeared, for a bronze has small chance of escaping the marauder; but a few have survived. A small-sized statue in the Louvre (a nude Apollo, found at Piombino, opposite Elba) is one of these rare survivals. It is probably the earliest known example of a Greek statue that has arms and legs wholly liberated and is no longer frontal and perpendicular but poised, with the weight thrown more on one leg than the other. In this case the withdrawn foot is flat on the ground, whereas in the somewhat later, very similar, bronzen *Apollo of Pompeii* (p. 86) the heel is slightly raised, until in the *Doryphoros* and *Amazon* of Polycleitus, in Myron's *Marsyas* and *Discobolos*, and many other later statues, such audacities are perpetrated that the marble copies that we possess of the original bronzes have to be supported by disfiguring pillars or tree-stumps. One very celebrated nude bronze group—that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the famous Tyrannicides—made by the Athenian Antenor, probably soon after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae in 510, was carried off by Xerxes to Asia, but was restored to Athens by Alexander the Great. After about six centuries it was probably transported to Constantinople together with the *Athene* and *Zeus* of Pheidias and finally disappeared. Two well-known marble statues at Naples have been recognized (from a vase-painting, a coin, and a carved marble chair at Broom Hall in England) to be, perhaps ancient, copies of Antenor's bronzes.¹ They are not attractive, but the mastery shown in the knowledge of the human body and in its representation as violently agitated and yet in that state of equilibrium which is an essential of all great statues is something that we have not hitherto met with in our present researches.

There are other relics which attest the grace, as the *Tyrannicides* attest the vigour and mastery, of early Athenian sculpture at a period when much that was primitive and grotesque still flourished (as was the case also in Egyptian art) under the protection of the old religion. Among these are

¹ Ancient marble copies supplied the place of the bronzes at Athens soon after these were carried off by Xerxes, and afterward remained in the *agora* side by side with the originals.



49. THE 'FRANÇOIS VASE'

c. 650 B.C.

Found by M. François at Clusium (Chiusi). See *Ancient Greece*, p. xiv
Florence, Museo Archeologico

Photo Alinari



50. BLACK-FIGURED VASES

c. 680-500

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Top, left: Greek vase found at Vulci, Italy. *Top, right:* Panathenaic prize vase; style of fifth century. *Centre:* Attic amphora. *Bottom, left:* 'Old Corinthian' crater. *Bottom, right:* Water-jar from Daphnae, Greek colony in Egypt

Photo Mansell

DARK AGE AND ARCHAIC ERA

notable the *stelae* (tombstones). That given in *Ancient Greece*, Fig. 51, is the monument of Aristion, a supporter of Peisistratus, and may date from about 530. It is somewhat archaic in style, but shows the delicate modelling and finish for which the Athenian school was remarkable,¹ and which when wedded to Peloponnesian athletic vigour produced the art of Pheidias, Myron, and Praxiteles.² The last specimen of this 'archaic' period, probably by an Athenian sculptor, that I shall mention—the bronze *Charioteer*, found at Delphi some forty years ago³—is so immeasurably distant from the monstrous and repulsive objects until about 480 retained as adornments of the old temples on the Acropolis that it seems more naturally to belong to the succeeding Golden Age; but its date may be as early as about 480, for it was most probably a part of a great bronze monument representing the victor of a chariot race standing on his chariot; and this victor was, to judge from the word *Polyzalos* found on a fragment of the pedestal, the younger brother of Hiero and of Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, who crushed the Carthaginians at Himera on the same day, it is said, as that of the battle of Salamis. This fine bronze statue is, I think, very possibly the only extant, and an early, work of the once renowned Athenian sculptor Calamis; some attribute it to the school of Sicyon; others to that of the Calabrian sculptor Pythagoras, perhaps a relation of the great philosopher of Crotona. But the tranquil, self-possessed pose of the figure, the graceful robe, and the delicate modelling of the hands and feet offer a most striking contrast to the bold, vigorous, late-Michelangelesque style of the Peloponnesian school, which is exemplified in the famous *Aeginetan Marbles*.

(7) These fifteen marbles (now at Munich, restored by Thorwaldsen) were discovered in 1811 near the temple, already

¹ Other graceful *stelae* of this period are those known as *The Old man and his Dog* (Athens Museum), by a Naxian sculptor, and the 'Pharsalian stele,' representing two girl friends (Louvre).

² Ageladas of Argos (c. 540–455), whose many statues of Olympian victors (mentioned by Herodotus and seen by Pausanias) and colossal groups of horses at Delphi and elsewhere are extolled by old writers, was the master of Myron and of Pheidias. Polycleitus also was an Argive.

³ The exceedingly interesting excavations of M. Homolle at Delphi have also brought to light a colossal *Apollo* (of about 560), the *Sphinx* of the Naxians, and sculptures in the Treasuries of the Athenians and of the Siphnians, the last representing the Battle with the Giants.

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described, of Aphaia, the two pediments of which were once adorned with about double that number. They were erected probably soon after Salamis (480) and seem to represent (in allusion to the wars between Greece and Asia) the expedition of Heracles with Telamon, King of Aegina, against Troy and some episode in the later Trojan War. In the centre of both pediments stood a statue of Athene with spear and shield. These statues (to judge from the one extant) were archaic and stiff, either because they were religious figures, or because they belonged to the temple before the others were erected. The somewhat boorish-faced and mostly nude warriors—who probably ought to turn their backs on Athene and shoot toward the corners of the tympanum—are fine specimens of the muscular and unintellectual athletic style favoured by Argive and Sicyonian sculptors, under whose influence evidently stood this Aeginetan artist—probably Onatas, who made many single statues for Grecian and Western Hellenic cities, and warrior groups for Olympia and Delphi. Some of these warriors may have had originally bronze body-armour, and their helms, eyes, etc., as well as the dress of Athene, were doubtless brightly variegated with paint or gold. It is difficult to discern here any of that interaction which makes the Parthenon frieze such a wonderful composition. But some of the isolated figures are fine. Perhaps the finest is the crouching Heracles discharging an arrow.

CHAPTER II

THE PERICLEAN ERA

WHEN the Athenians, in 480, betook themselves to their 'wooden walls' the Persians entered and sacked Athens; and the next year they came back and completed the devastation, leaving the Acropolis and its temples a mass of ruins. After the battle of Plataea and the flight of the Persians the Athenians at once set to work and on the advice of Themistocles began to use the spoils of war in order to surround Athens with ramparts and connect it with its port, the Peiraeus, by means of the 'Long Walls'; and Cimon, the son of the victor of Marathon, Miltiades, not believing in making the whole of Athens a fortified city, persuaded them to build great walls round the citadel and a strong portal, and inside these walls (as already told) the area was broadened by demolishing ruins and filling up spaces; and on this area began to be erected new temples and statues. One of the earliest of these statues, meant as a defiance to invaders, and made probably from Persian spoils, was the colossal bronze *Athene Promachos* (the 'Champion,' a work of young Pheidias), the gilded crest of whose helmet served, says Pausanias, as a landmark for mariners far out at sea. But it was not till some fifteen years after this (c. 445) that Pericles, being at the summit of his power, commissioned Ictinus to build, and Pheidias to decorate, the Parthenon. Between the disappearance of the Persians and the foundation of the Parthenon we have therefore an interval of thirty-three years, and as this was a period of recovery leading up to the great Periclean era we must consider it first.

(a) Transitional Period (478-445)

Architecture. After the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera (on the same day, it is said, as that on which the

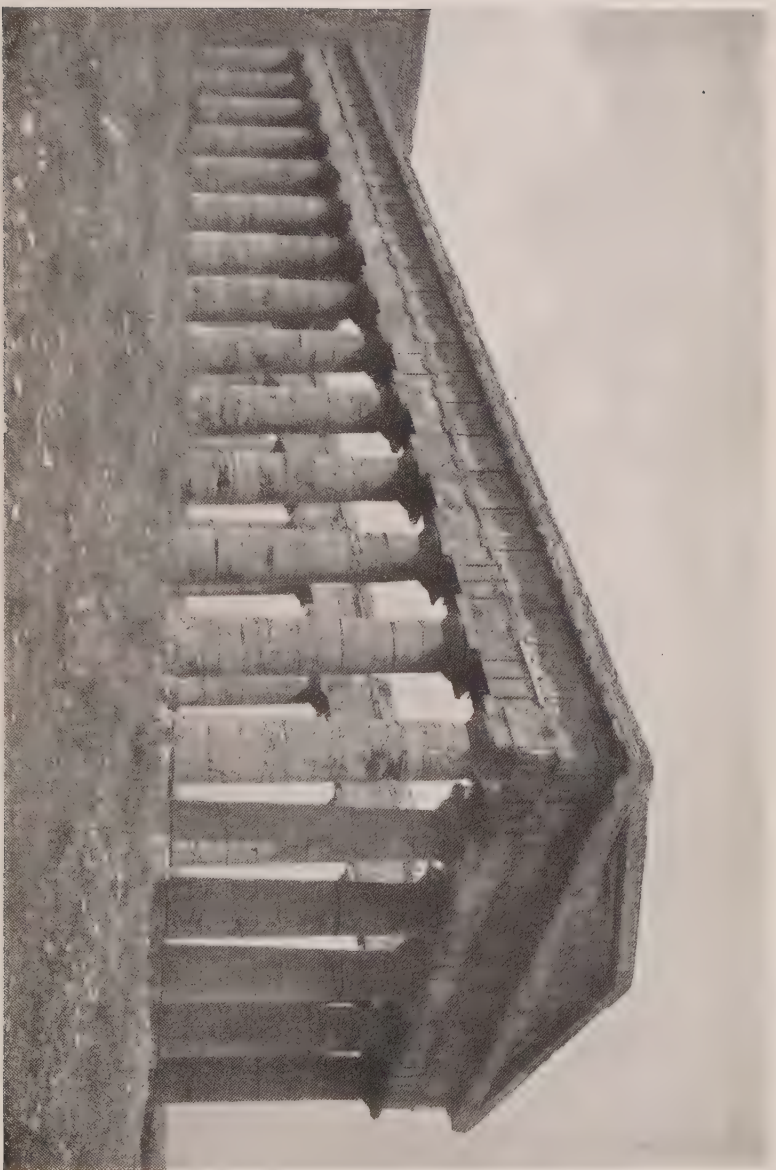
GREEK ART

Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis) many grand temples were built in Sicily, most of them doubtless as thankofferings to Zeus 'the Saviour' and other Olympian divinities. Of the seven great Doric ruins at Selinus the one called E—perhaps a temple of Hera—and the temple of Apollo were probably begun at this epoch. The latter, planned on a vast scale, was still unfinished when the Carthaginians returned in 409. This was also the case with the even vaster temple of Zeus, the Olympieion, at Acragas (Girgenti), the ruins of which show the interesting variety of an inner shrine (*cella*) enclosed in walls which had windows, and a roof supported by Atlantes (male figures like Caryatides). At Acragas, moreover, still stands a very grand Doric temple built probably during this period—in honour of what deity is unknown. Its name, Templum Concordiae, is due to the misinterpretation of a Latin inscription.¹ Lastly, near Segesta stands yet a magnificent Doric temple, which we may include in this period, for it must have taken many years to build. Like the two afore-mentioned, it was never finished, probably on account of the Carthaginian invasion of 409. Its huge columns and entablature are intact, but the shafts of the columns were left as erected—rough and without flutings. (Fig. 51.)

In Greece, as we have seen, the victories of Salamis and Plataea were followed by building activity on the Athenian Acropolis and by the erection of the pediment sculptures in the Aeginetan temple; but the most important architectural work at this epoch seems to have been at Olympia, in Elis, the great gathering place of Greeks from all parts of the Hellenic world. Many relics of great temples and other buildings have been unearthed in our days at Olympia, as well as two very valuable statues. Of the temples by far the most conspicuous, by reason of its size, its vivid colours, and its pediment statues, was that of Zeus, which was founded on the site of the ancient fane in 470 and finished about 445, the year in which the Parthenon was begun.

Sculpture. We are told by Pausanias that the sculptures of the pediments of the Zeus temple at Olympia were the

¹ Also the so-called 'temple of Lacinian Juno' at Acragas is misnamed by reason of Pliny's error in stating that Zeuxis painted his celebrated picture of Helen for the 'Lacinian temple at Agrigentum,' whereas it was painted for the temple on the Lacinian promontory. See *Ancient Greece*, Fig. 40 and p. 454.



51. TEMPLE NEAR SEGESTA, SICILY

Photo Brogi

52. *Lo SPINARIO*
Boy extracting a thorn from his foot. c. 460. *Rome, Capitol*
Photo Brogi



THE PERICLEAN ERA

work of Alcamenes, a Lesbian, and the Thracian Paeonius, whom we know as the maker of an exceedingly beautiful *Victory* excavated at Olympia. But many relics of these pediment sculptures have been discovered and are to be seen in the Museum at Olympia, and two groups, which represent the story of Pelops and Hippodameia and the battle between Centaurs and Lapithae, have been reconstructed by German experts and may be seen at Dresden, and from these it seems really almost impossible to believe Pausanias. Anyhow, if in their early, unregenerate days Paeonius and Alcamenes made these graceless, muscular figures and ill-composed conventional groups, it must have been a miraculous conversion that enabled them to produce later the *Nike* (Victory) and the two exceedingly fine statues, imbued with Attic grace and dignified self-restraint, which are attributed to Alcamenes, viz., the *Draped Venus* of the Louvre and the quiescent *Discobolos* (so different from Myron's) of the Vatican. The only statue in these groups at Olympia which possesses much dignity is the central figure of the west pediment—perhaps representing Apollo as an onlooker at the somewhat tame battle going on around him. The commonplace Zeus of the east pediment must have offered a most striking contrast to the Zeus of Pheidias inside this same temple—if an ancient writer is to be believed, who describes the latter as the very presence of Deity and so impressive in its serene majesty that 'however sick and weary in soul a man may be, if he do but stand before this image, he will, I deem, forget all the terrors and troubles of human life.' Remnants of twelve reliefs from the *cella* of this temple have also been discovered. These reliefs represented the twelve labours of Heracles. They were evidently made before the pediment sculptures, but although archaic and roughly executed they possessed, to judge from several fragments (e.g., *The Killing of the Cretan Bull* and *The Apples of the Hesperides*), both vigour and dignity.

The following are some of the sculptures (most of them extant in copies) generally assigned to this period :

(1) Peloponnesian. The *Girl Racer* (marble copy from bronze ? Vatican). *Lo Spinario*, boy extracting thorn from foot (Capitol). *Giustiniani Hestia* (marble replica from bronze ? Museo Torlonia, Rome). The bronze

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Apollo of Pompeii (Naples) mentioned on p. 80. In some will be noted (e.g., in the *Hestia*) a rigidity and heaviness in the square-cut Doric costume very unlike the graceful and light Ionian *chiton* and *himation* worn by Athenian female statues (even by the antique 'Aunts'!). In others one notes a wonderful advance in rendering the pose and poise of the nude figure. While Athenian sculptors had been learning vigour from the Peloponnesians these had become visibly influenced by Athenian grace and delicacy and self-restraint.

(2) *Athenian*. Two very celebrated statues of Athene by Pheidias belonged to this period. One was the colossal bronze statue already mentioned, which stood on the summit of the Acropolis and overtopped all the great temples for eight centuries (c. 460 B.C. to c. A.D. 330). It was then probably transported by Constantine to the new capital of his empire, where it was destroyed when the Latin Crusaders sacked Constantinople in 1204. The other was a bronze statue set up on the Acropolis by the people of Lemnos. Some years ago a German archaeologist (Furtwängler) found at Bologna a fine female head which proved to belong to a headless Pheidias-like Athene at Dresden, and the statue thus completed, except for its arms, is believed by experts to be a Roman marble copy of the *Athene Lemnia*. It has some dignity, but its beauty is scarcely such as we might have expected from Lucian's enthusiastic description (*Imag.* vi) of the original statue. It answers, however, to the assertion of another old writer who says that Pheidias first 'decked the virgin goddess with a blush instead of a helmet'; and this fact is, from the artistic point of view, of very great interest seeing that we have here for the first time the warrior-goddess represented in sculpture merely as a stately and handsome woman—clothed, so to speak, in the divinity of idealized womanhood—with no trappings of war except the small, merely decorative and symbolical *aegis*, with its embroidered or embossed Medusa-head, and with none of the accessories by which hitherto art had indicated the supernatural.¹ Two marble sculptures at Rome are believed to be Athenian work of this early Pheidian, or slightly pre-Pheidian, period, viz., a much-restored seated female figure in the Vatican (perhaps a funerary statue) known as *The Mourning Penelope*, the drapery and pose of which are exceedingly graceful, and the celebrated reliefs on the marble *Throne of Venus* (for a colossal image of the goddess) now in the Museo Nazionale (Baths of Diocletian).

Here should be mentioned that after the victory of Plataea, in 479, besides the erection of a bronze colossus of Zeus at Olympia and one of Poseidon on the Isthmus, a tenth of the booty was assigned to the magnificent temple of Apollo at Delphi for its treasury and for its adornment with statues, etc.² Among the offerings was one of which

¹ Homer, whose imagination was artistically far in advance of his age, sometimes in the *Odyssey* introduces Athene merely in the form of a woman 'beautiful, stately, and skilled in lovely needlework.' Now and then he slides, not into archaic grotesqueness, but into poetic transformation, and converts her, not into an owl, but into a swallow.

² The god, it is said, defended his temple against the Persians by thunderbolts and by hurling down from Parnassus huge rocks—seen by Herodotus! After



53. THE MOURNING PENELOPE

Vatican

Photo Brogi



54. APHRODITE RISING OUT OF THE SEA (?)
From the 'Throne of Venus.' Rome, Mus. Naz.



55. RELIEF FROM THE 'THRONE OF VENUS'
Fifth century B.C.
Photos Brogi

THE PERICLEAN ERA

a part still exists at Constantinople—namely the bronze stand of the golden tripod dedicated by the cities allied against the Persian. It is described by Herodotus, who however speaks of ‘a bronze serpent with three heads’ whereas it consists of three intertwined serpents—the head of one of which was knocked off by the battle-axe of Mohammed II when he took Constantinople in 1453.

(b) The Great Period of the Periclean Age (445–400)

Architecture. The chief buildings of this period are the following six temples, all erected by Athenian architects. Besides these temples should be mentioned the still partly extant *New Propylaea* of the Acropolis (a massive wall pierced by five gateways with an Ionic portico and flanking halls of colonnades), built c. 437–432 by Mnesicles to replace Cimon’s fortress portal; also the *Odeion* (Music Hall), built about the same time not far from the great theatre of Dionysus on the south-western slope of the Acropolis.¹

The six temples are :

(1) *The Parthenon*. After the Persian invasion Athens possessed no longer the shrine of her special divinity, Pallas Athene, who in days of old had victoriously contested with Poseidon the tutelage of the city. The ancient fane of Athene Polias (‘Goddess of the City’) on the Acropolis, which was burnt down by the Persians, although enlarged and converted into a Doric building by Peisistratus, was greatly inferior to the great temples of far-off Sicily or of Italian Paestum. Whether during the thirty years that followed its destruction any attempt was made to rebuild it is not known, but Pericles, under whose imperialistic leadership Athens had established its hegemony over a number of ‘subject allies,’ persuaded the Athenians to vote very large sums of money (much of it subscribed by the allies for defence against Persia) in order to

Marathon golden shields had been affixed to the architraves. This temple dated from c. 548, when the ancient fane was burnt down. The foundations are still visible. Exteriorly it was Doric, inside partly Ionic.

¹ Besides these buildings may here be mentioned the Long Walls and the docks and town of the Peiraeus, with its arsenal and great emporium, designed by Hippodamus, who also laid out the cities of Rhodes and Thurii.

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fortify and adorn the metropolis of the empire,¹ and about 445 gave over the designing of a magnificent temple to Ictinus, the building to Callicrates, and the decorative work to Pheidias.

The Parthenon is the purest extant specimen of Doric architecture and probably the most exquisitely proportioned building ever erected. Its dimensions are not great—only 228 by 101 feet. Its peristyle consists of 8 × 17 columns of about 35 feet. At both ends is a double portico. The sanctuary contained the gold and ivory (chryselephantine) statue of Athene made by Pheidias, which was 38 feet high and, according to custom, faced so as to receive the light of the rising sun through the eastern portico.² Behind the sanctuary is a compartment entered from the west portico. This was the 'Parthenon' proper—the word meaning the 'Room of the Virgins'—*i.e.*, of the priestesses. (It may also have been used to denote the whole building as the 'Dwelling of the Virgin Goddess.') The Parthenon sculptures will be described later. Here let us note again that the temple itself, apart from these celebrated sculptures, possesses a beauty of line and proportion that we seek in vain in any other building on earth. To analyse and explain these qualities is as impossible as to discover by dissection the means by which a Sophoclean drama attained its perfect form. It is however an interesting fact, noted by Vitruvius, that in the Parthenon, in order to correct the slight declination of eyesight, the use of absolutely straight horizontal or vertical lines is to a great extent avoided. The columns not only taper and gently diminish the width of their flutings, but they have the slight convexity in their middle parts which is known as entasis, and also lean very slightly inward toward the centre of the building. The marble basement too and the steps are not perfectly horizontal but have a slight convexity. The metopes moreover are not quite equilateral, but so proportioned as to appear square from below. It is

¹ He proposed a Pan-Hellenic congress to discuss resistance to the Persian and the 'rebuilding of temples burnt by the barbarian'—a proposal rather naturally rejected by Sparta, as these temples were mostly Athenian. The amount spent on public buildings by Athens at this epoch was, according to Grote, about £2,000,000 (modern value).

² The sanctuary (*cella*) was probably sometimes partly open to the sky, but the image surely always had a roof over it. See p. 71.



56. THE PARTHENON, FROM THE WEST
Photo Alinari



57. APOLLO'S TEMPLE, PHIGALEIA
See p. 90
Photo Simiriottis, Athens



58. TEMPLE ON SUnion
Photo Dr Walter Leaf



59. THE THESEION
Photo English Photographic Co.

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as if Greek art were trying to realize for human eyes the Platonic idea of perfect form, non-existent in the natural world.

The Parthenon is built of Pentelic (Attic) marble, which, unlike the Parian, contains iron and acquires a rich golden brown tint. Whether the columns and architraves were also artificially tinted is uncertain, but the mouldings and other decorations were brightly coloured, bronzed, or gilded, as well as the dress and other details of the statues and reliefs, all of which had probably a dark red or dark blue background.

(2) On *Sunion*, the headland of Attica, now called Cape Colonna, stood from very early days a shrine dedicated to the Sea-god, and Aristophanes, who was born in the year when the Parthenon was begun and may have been a boy of ten or so when this original shrine was rebuilt as a conspicuous Doric temple, tells us that Poseidon was still 'the god invoked on Sunion.' But, as on the Acropolis, so also here Poseidon seems to have had to yield to Athene, and either share his temple with her or else allow her new temple to overshadow his more ancient fane. Eleven fine columns of marble from the neighbouring quarries of Laurion are still standing. The building in style somewhat resembled the Theseion. The sculptures of the metopes probably depicted the feats of Theseus.

(3) The *Theseion* (on an elevation north-west of the Acropolis) is the best preserved of all ancient Greek buildings. It is smaller than the Parthenon (6×13) and its Athenian-Doric columns, of Pentelic marble, are slenderer, giving the impression of a somewhat later date. It has not the magical charm of the Parthenon nor the grandeur of Poseidon's temple at Paestum, but is dignified and impressive. The original shrine was probably that in which (c. 473) Cimon deposited the so-called bones of Theseus which he brought from the island of Scyros. The present building was erected perhaps about 425. Pausanias, who visited Athens some six centuries later, seems to call it a temple of Hephaestus (Vulcan). The pediment sculptures have disappeared. Eighteen metopes are adorned with high reliefs which represent the labours of Heracles and the feats of Theseus. The frieze of the sanctuary, which, like the inner Parthenon

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frieze, is continuous, depicts the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithae.

(4) The Doric temple of Apollo at *Phigaleia*, near Bassae ('Ravines'), amid the highlands of Arcadia, was, says Pausanias, a work of the Parthenon architect, Ictinus, built to avert the Great Plague which devastated Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*i.e.*, in 430). In spite of earthquakes thirty of its thirty-eight external columns are still standing. The inner temple had also capitals of an Ionic character and *one* Corinthian column—the earliest known—now lost. The temple faces north and south, but to allow the image of Apollo to face the rising sun the door of the sanctuary was on the east side.¹ There are in the British Museum some fine bas-reliefs of the interior frieze. They depict combats of Greeks with Amazons and show much vigour and most evident Attic influence (though roughly executed by local workmen) in their outlines and finely balanced composition.

(5) The temple² of *Athene Nike* (Athene in her character as Victory), on a platform of rock to the right of the gates of the Acropolis—probably founded when the vaster design for the Propylaea was abandoned during the stress of the war, *c.* 425—is a small shrine with an Ionic portico at each end. In 1684 it was demolished by the Turks, who used the material to build a bastion; but it was successfully reconstructed in 1835. The reliefs that once adorned its encircling balustrade (now in the Athens Museum) are of the Pheidian school and very beautiful. Athene is represented sitting on the prow of a vessel and receiving trophies and offerings from exceedingly graceful, almost girlish Victories. The much ruined frieze, part of which is in the British Museum, probably depicted the battle of Plataea.

(6) The *Erechtheion* is said to be a model Ionic structure, but except for its famous *Caryatides* (one of which is terra-cotta—the original being in the British Museum) is not very attractive. Its form is very uncommon. It has two side porticos, the southern being that of the Maidens. The

¹ The original great bronze Apollo was carried off by the 'Arcadian Confederates' of Megalopolis about 370. Of the huge marble statue that took its place fragments are in the British Museum.

² Sometimes wrongly called that of *Wingless Victory*—perhaps, I think, because the shrine had no aisles. See p. 70.



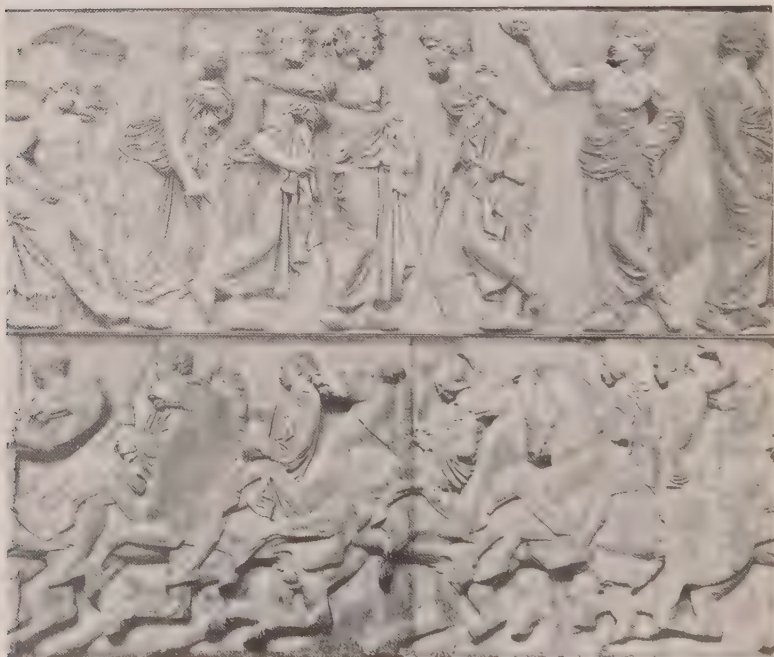
60. GREEKS AND AMAZONS
From frieze of temple at Phigaleia
British Museum



61. VICTORIES
From the temple of Athene Nike, Athens
Photos Mansell



62. GROUP OF GODS, PARTHENON FRIEZE
From Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)



63. PORTIONS OF PARTHENON FRIEZE
Photo Mansell

THE PERICLEAN ERA

unusual form is due to the fact that it included at least two ancient shrines—that of Athene Polias and that of Erechtheus, the old Athenian snake-hero-god who was identified with Poseidon and in early days shared with Athene this ‘House of Erechtheus,’ mentioned by Homer. The old lair of the snake-god and the hole made by Poseidon’s trident in the rock and the original olive-tree planted by Athene were all on show in the old Erechtheion. But this shrine was burnt by the Persians. However, the olive put out a long new shoot in two days and a new temple was promptly begun. It stood incomplete for about seventy years, having been finished (according to an inscription in the British Museum) in 409. Some of the reliefs of the frieze, very weather-worn and mutilated, are in the British Museum. Their subjects seem to be the feats of mythical Athenian heroes.

Sculpture. The sculpture of the Periclean period compared with that of the following era (the era of Praxiteles and Scopas) is characterized by what one may call *impersonality* or *ideality*—even the statues of victorious athletes and sepulchral figures being often typical rather than personal,¹ and the deities being represented as majestic, almost impersonal, beings, a little unconcerned of humankind, like the gods of Epicurus and Lucretius—whereas in the fourth century the artist began to inspire his divinities (as Euripides had done in his dramas) with human feelings and to lend them the subtle distinctions of human personality.²

Other characteristics of the sculpture of this period will perhaps be intimated by touching on the fact that, however heroically the Spartans fought at Thermopylae and at Plataea, it was Athens that had saved Greece by the victories of Marathon and Salamis, and that until it succumbed to Spartan militarism at the end of the Peloponnesian War the spirit and the ideals of Athens dominated to a large extent the realm of art. Of this spirit and these ideals, as they existed among the Athenian champions of Greece and of republican liberty, we have ample testimony not only in the speeches of Pericles as reported by Thucydides, where we find

¹ The well-known bust of Pericles (British Museum) is evidently idealized.

² We have seen in Egyptian and shall see again in Hellenistic and late Renaissance art how this tendency is apt to lead to insipidity and vulgarity.

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a love of the beautiful tempered by the greater love for manly common sense, but also in the self-reliant republicanism that made such a long and valiant stand against Sparta and which called upon the citizen to sacrifice all to the public weal—to regard his property, his genius, his life as at the service of the state.¹ Hence we find that at this epoch Greek sculpture was largely devoted to the glorification of the fatherland or city, and of those gods and heroes who had defended it, and those men whose valour or other manly qualities had won fame for their fellow-citizens.² The ideals of the best Athenians in the days of Pericles and of Socrates were certainly not those of Ionic luxuriousness and sentimental aestheticism, although strong Ionic art-instincts doubtless still survived in Athenian character. We have indeed seen that long before the days of Pheidias the Attic school of sculpture was distinguished by its 'Ionic' grace and elegance, whereas that of the Peloponnesians had adopted a somewhat aggressively vigorous and masculine style. These two methods now became combined, and perhaps the fact that the Athenian Pheidias and (the Boeotian ?) Myron were both pupils of the then famous Argive sculptor Ageladas accounts to a great extent for this fusion of Peloponnesian 'athleticism' with Attic grace—the works of Pheidias showing incomparable beauty combined with dignity and those of Myron showing the masculine vigour of the Peloponnesians tempered by Attic self-restraint and elegance of pose.

Let us now first consider Pheidias, then Myron, Polycleitus, and other independent workers, and then the followers of Pheidias (the Attic school).

(1) Most of the sculptures of the Parthenon, especially those of the two pediments and the frieze of the sanctuary, were designed by Pheidias, and much was doubtless the work of his chisel. The external frieze, above the architrave, was divided, as in all Doric temples, into square metopes separated by sets of three vertical flutings (triglyphs). These metopes, ninety-two in number, of which the best are in the British Museum, are sculptured in very high relief, and each forms a

¹ The epitaph of Aeschylus (possibly written by himself) speaks of his valour at the battle of Marathon, but does not allude to the fact that he wrote poetry !

² In Italian art we shall find that Venice far more than Florence attained to this conception of the end of art.

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distinct group—a fight between Greeks and Amazons or Centaurs or Trojans—the action of which is concentrated and self-balanced. Some of them resemble the metopes of the Theseion and may be the work of Myron, who excelled in balanced pose amidst violent action (as in his *Discobolos* and *Marsyas*). Others are without artistic restraint and conspicuously inferior in workmanship amid so much that is grand in conception and perfect in execution. These may have been produced by craftsmen of the ‘athletic’ Argive school.

The frieze that ran all round the inner temple was of a very different character. It was continuous, as in an Ionic temple, and displayed, sculptured in shallow relief, a long procession—that of the great ‘Panathenaic’ festival, consisting of the chief magistrates, citizens, priests, matrons, and maidens, who come to bring the yearly offering of a magnificent *peplos* for the great gold and ivory image of the goddess, and are followed by musicians, victims for sacrifice, charioteers, and a squadron of young knights mounted on prancing steeds; and over the main portal are seated Athene and Zeus and other deities—figured in beautiful and dignified human forms but superhuman in their calm impersonal grandeur—awaiting the procession’s arrival. As viewed from below by those who walked, or marched in procession, round the temple this sculptured line of figures, as Professor Gardner says, would seem to advance as the spectator moved. Many of the slabs of this wondrously beautiful frieze—once about 175 yards long—are in the British Museum; others, much weather-worn, are still *in situ*, and some are in the Museum at Athens. To form a true conception of the effect of this work of Pheidias we must imagine the figures, perhaps slightly tinted and certainly here and there coloured, or bronzed, or gilded, standing out against a background of dark blue or red. The dismay that many of us feel at the bare idea of colours in marble statuary—habituated as we are to Greek sculptures without the colours with which they were often decked, and to the dazzling white of Carrara marble—may denote very refined sensibility, but is essentially un-Greek.¹

¹ It will be remembered that in old Egyptian art painting had a sculptured substratum.

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The statues of the two pediments were doubtless no less wonderful for their masculine beauty and power than was the frieze for its gracious dignity and delicacy of form. We possess, alas, only mutilated fragments. In 1687 a German gunner of the Venetian forces then besieging the Turks in the Acropolis succeeded in dropping a shell into the powder magazine located in the Parthenon, with the result that a great part of the temple, until then in a fair state of preservation, was ruined, and almost all the statues were shattered. The Venetian commander tried to carry off the Poseidon and the horses of Athene's chariot, but the whole group fell and was broken to pieces. In 1801 our ambassador, Lord Elgin, procured a firman allowing him to remove 'a few blocks of stone and figures,' and sent a great part of the metopes and frieze and almost all the remnants of the pediment sculptures to England—perhaps fortunately, for they were thus saved from further destruction by weather and by vandalism. A drawing by a French artist, Carrey, made in 1674 allows us to reconstruct with tolerable certainty.

The subject of the east pediment was the birth of Athene. The central figures are lost, but I think we may be sure that the goddess was *not* represented by Pheidias, as she is sometimes rather grotesquely pictured on vases, in the act of springing (a small, fully armed figure) out of the head of Zeus, but probably as of full stature, standing by her father's side. What mutilated figures have survived are of uncertain interpretation—*e.g.*, the *Theseus* (*Dionysus* ? *Olympus* ?) and the *Three Fates* (*Seasons* ?) and *Demeter* (?) with her daughter *Core*, or *Persephone*; and *Iris* (?), starting perhaps to take the news to mortals. The fine horses' heads probably belonged to the chariot of the rising Sun (in the left corner) and to that of the setting Moon (in the right). In the west pediment was represented the contest of Poseidon and Athene for the patronage of Athens and Attica. Carrey's sketch shows Poseidon as a huge nude figure starting back in amazement before Athene, as Marsyas does in Myron's famous group. The chief relics of this pediment are two reclining figures that once filled the corners and perhaps represented the two streams between which Athens lies, the Ilissus and Cephissus, and a fine head, perhaps of a Victory, now in Paris. Such are, alas !



64. FROM THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

Figures at foot: Left, Theseus (Dionysus? Olympus?); centre, Persephone (?); right, Demeter (?)

Engraved by W. G. Smith

Printed by W. G. Smith



65. CARYATID OF THE ERECHTHEION

See pp. 90, 97. *British Museum*

Photo Mansell

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the scanty remains of sculptures which are believed to have been the noblest works ever produced by the statuary art. The incomparable skill still discernible in these 'marvellous translations into marble of flesh and of drapery,' as Professor Gardner rightly calls them, is not that which makes the Parthenon frieze and these relics of the pediments of such value for us. What does this is the fact that they are a splendid manifestation of a spirit which reveals itself not only in the finest Greek architecture and sculpture, but, more or less obviously, under forms adapted to other times and other peoples, in every great work of formative art ever produced by human genius.

Pheidias, born about 500, must have had memories of Marathon and may have fought at Salamis and Plataea. Among his earliest works was a group, erected at Delphi, of gods and heroes, in the midst of whom stood Miltiades. Of his *Athene Promachos* and *Athene Lemnia* I have spoken. For the Parthenon he made a great gold and ivory (chryselephantine) image of Athene Parthenos, some 39 feet high, helmed, erect, holding on the outspread right hand a winged figure of Victory and resting the left on her shield. Of this work, highly praised by the ancients, we are forced to form our only conception from two most unattractive statuettes and a few gems, busts, and coins. After the dedication of the Parthenon in 438 Pheidias seems to have spent five years at Olympia working at his celebrated statue of Zeus for the Olympian temple. The throne of the god was regarded, together with the vast pedestal, as the most magnificent work of decorative sculpture ever produced. Every available surface was used for reliefs or paintings. The whole monument was about 60 feet high, so that, it was said, Zeus could not stand up without putting his head through the roof. On his right hand stood a Victory and on his sceptre perched his eagle.¹ It was apparently after his return to Athens that Pheidias was accused by the enemies of his patron Pericles of having stolen gold entrusted to him for decorating the Athene (something similar happened to Benvenuto Cellini) and of having impiously depicted Pericles and himself on Athene's shield; and he was cast

¹ Evident imitations of the Pheidian Zeus are found on coins.

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into prison, and died there—a fact almost incredible if we had not the cases of Socrates and Anaxagoras.

(2) Myron (c. 500–410) was perhaps Boeotian. He studied the Doric ‘athletic’ style under Ageladas of Argos, but, like his fellow-student Pheidias, stood mainly under Attic influence. We have at Rome an antique marble copy of his bronze *Discobolos* and another of his *Marsyas*. The wonderfully represented momentary poise of the Quoit-thrower, as well as that of the startled Satyr, testifies to Myron’s possession of the sculptor’s special gift for lending to the moment what Wordsworth calls ‘the calm of blest eternity.’¹

A contemporary of Myron was that Calamis who, as he seems to have adhered to the rather archaic but graceful old Athenian style, has been already considered in connexion with the *Charioteer of Delphi* (p. 81).

Polycleitus (c. 480–412), also a pupil of Ageladas, worked mostly at Argos, but was evidently affected by Attic influence, perhaps that of Pheidias, still more strongly than Myron, for even in the marble copies of his famous *Spear-bearer* (Naples and Florence) and *Diadumenos* (British Museum, Madrid, and Athens) there is visible a certain Pheidian grace and proportion, which the original bronzes doubtless made far more perceptible, for they are both very highly extolled by ancient writers, who say that the *Doryphoros* was known as the ‘Canon’—the standard model. For Hera’s temple at Argos he made a great chryselephantine statue of the goddess which some old writers assert to have surpassed the Pheidian *Athene*; and the head of this Queen of Heaven given on Argive coins (Fig. 113) and perhaps roughly imitated in the *Farnese Hera* (Naples) is certainly much finer than any of the supposed imitations of the *Parthenos*. On the site of this Heraion too have been found remnants of exceedingly beautiful sculptures, possibly by Polycleitus, which in the grace and variety of the figures and the exquisite draperies reveal far stronger Attic influences than the two aforementioned statues or the heavily built, square-jowled *Amazon*, which is another Polycleitan work of which there are copies

¹ What may be a marble copy of the *Athene* before whom *Marsyas* is starting back has been excavated in Rome and is at Frankfurt (*Ancient Greece*, pp. 309–310). Bronze was naturally preferred by the sculptors of the ‘athletic’ school.



66. THE SPEAR-BEARER (DORYPHOROS) OF POLYCLEITUS

Found at Herculaneum
Naples, Museo Nazionale
Photo Brogi



67. THE DIOSCURI OF 'MONTE CAVALLO,' ROME

Photo Brogi

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at Berlin and in the Vatican. The Argive fragments, among which is a very lovely female head (Athens Museum), make us feel that if we had more of his work we could better understand why ancient writers give the palm for 'art' to Polycleitus and for 'grandeur' to Pheidias.

Lycius, son of Myron, was a famous sculptor in his day, but nothing has survived except his name engraved on a basis upon which once stood the bronze equestrian statues made by him to decorate the New Propylaea of the Acropolis, doubtless near the great bronze four-horse chariot placed there by Pericles in lieu of the one probably carried off by Xerxes. Also the name of another Athenian sculptor, Cresilas, who was a Cretan by birth, has been found on a marble pedestal excavated on the Acropolis; and on this pedestal once stood that bust of Pericles of which we possess a fine copy in the British Museum. Still another interesting basis has been unearthed on the Acropolis. It bears the name 'Strongylion,' who is mentioned by Aristophanes as the maker of a colossal bronze 'wooden horse of Troy.'

The fine sculptures, already described, of the temple at Phigaleia are of this epoch and show much affinity to the Attic school (Fig. 60). The lovely reliefs of the small Athene Nike shrine on the Capitol, also already described, are evidently by followers of Pheidias. The great figures called *Castor and Pollux* and their horses on 'Monte Cavallo' in Rome are possibly imitations of perhaps bronzen originals by masters of the Pheidian school.¹ Of the works of Alcámenes, a highly extolled pupil of Pheidias, we probably have copies in the very graceful *Draped Venus* and the *Discobolos* mentioned on p. 85. A wonderfully beautiful and dignified head of Venus in the Naples Museum, evidently of the same type as the *Venus of Milo*, probably originated in the Pheidian school—as did also, I believe, the *Melos Aphrodite* herself. The Maidens (*Caryatides*) of the Erechtheion, which was finished in 409, are certainly Pheidian in style, as are also the *Apollo Citharoedus* at Munich, a very dignified and wonderfully

¹ The inscriptions (*Opus Phidiae*, *Opus Praxitelis*) date from about the age of Constantine the Great, and prove that even in that age there were those who could recognize fine sculpture.

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draped figure holding a lyre, and the fine *Hera of the Vatican* (*Barberini Juno*).

The discovery of the *Victory of Paeonius* at Olympia has been already mentioned (p. 85). It (as the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, found also at Olympia) is an original. Paeonius is said to have been a follower of Polycleitus, but the splendid figure of his *Nike* (reconstructed from fragments), that almost seems to be floating, wingless, in the air amid its wind-blown drapery, is more ethereal and poetic than any work that we possess of the sculptor of the *Doryphoros*. This *Victory* was erected by the Messenians of Naupactus as a triumphant record of the famous capture by Cleon of the Spartans on Sphacteria in 425, which forms one of the most vivid chapters of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides.¹

Of this Periclean period and of the Peloponnesian 'athletic' school are three bronze statues which, as well as about forty other bronzes and marbles, were fished up off Cape Malea in 1901. One of the three is a very attractive figure of a youth, called the *Idolino*, now in the Florentine Museo Archeologico (Fig. 69). These works of art doubtless formed the cargo of some such vessel as that of which the story goes that Mummius the Roman, after plundering Corinth, dispatched a shipload of Greek statues to Rome, telling the captain that if they were lost he would have to replace them. One wonders if they were replaced.

The Nereid Monument, discovered in Lycia by Sir Charles Fellows, was probably a regal tomb, the work of Ionic or Athenian artists, built about 420. Its remains, scattered by earthquake, were brought to England in 1842 and are in the British Museum. On a square base ornamented with two bands of reliefs in unmistakably Attic style rose an Ionic building, between whose columns stood female figures in wind-blown drapery, probably representing ocean nymphs (*Nereides*) skimming over the surface of the sea. Some of these recall the beautiful *Nike* of Paeonius and are lovely but faint preheraldings of the superb (though Hellenistic) *Nike of Samothrace*.

Here should be mentioned Greek tombstones—*stelae*,

¹ The torso of a somewhat similar, but much smaller, statue has lately been excavated on the Palatine.



68. THE NIKE (VICTORY) OF PAEONIUS

Olympia

From Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (Macmillan)



69. BRONZE ATHLETE (OR APOLLO ?)
c. 440 (?). Attic school. Found near Pesaro, Italy. The *Idolino* of the
Museo Archeologico, Florence
Photo Alinari

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στῆλαι — of which many beautiful specimens are extant, especially at Athens. The earlier often keep something of the form of the *stèle* (i.e., column) erected in ancient days on the *tumulus*, and in these older examples the single figure is evidently often a portrait. The deceased is often represented with what indicates his favourite occupation—an athlete with his *strigil*, a hunter with his dog, a child with its toys, etc. Many of the most beautiful and pathetic *stelæ* date from the fourth century, but, as might be expected, the designs are often old and carry one back to Pheidian days. Sometimes a family group is depicted and a scene of farewell—a maiden putting on her sandals for the long journey, or a lady decking herself in her jewels for the new country, or a man clasping lovingly the hand of his wife or child. No relics of antiquity bring us nearer to past ages than these Athenian tombstones, nor do any surpass them in calm and delicate beauty, or intimate more clearly the indescribable difference between the Greek and the Egyptian attitude of mind in the presence of death.¹

Painting. The use of colour in connexion with Greek sculpture has been mentioned, and vase-paintings will be considered later. That there were in early times also painters, not only of what we should call frescos but also of *pictures* (panels on which colours mixed with melted wax were impasted with hot tools, as in Alexandrian encaustic painting), is probable. In a well-known Greek ode perhaps by Anacreon addressed to a painter, whom the poet bids paint his mistress, various delicate tints are described and the picture is addressed as a 'wax';² and according to Herodotus the Samian Mandrocles, who constructed (c. 512) a bridge across the Bosphorus for Darius, presented to the vast temple of Hera at Samos a picture in which the king was

¹ This is true in spite of the fact that the sepulchral figures were often typical rather than personal, and that (as was the case with Egyptian and Etruscan tombs—and is indeed generally the case) there was a stock-in-trade of ready-made *stelæ* that only needed slight alterations to satisfy the exigencies of relatives.

² If by Anacreon himself this 'Anacreontic' would date from about 530, but the mention of Rhodes as already famous for painting makes it doubtful. The wax process was probably known early to Greeks and Ionians but seems to have been first practised with artistic effect by the great teacher of painting, the Macedonian Pamphilus, of the Sicyonian school, shortly before the time of Apelles.

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represented seated on a throne and contemplating the passage of his army. But perhaps this was a mural painting—possibly like a fresco of later times. Such mural pictures adorned the Poikile Stoa (Painted Portico) at Athens. Here the first really famous Greek painter, the Giotto of ancient Greece, Polygnotus of Thasos, depicted (*c.* 455 ?) the Fall of Troy and, probably with the aid of Micon and of Panoenus, a brother of Pheidias, three scenes of the battle of Marathon—the charge of the Athenians and Plataeans, the slaughter of the Persians in the swamp, and the attack of the Greeks on the Persian ships—and portrayed the Persian generals and the Greek (Callimachus and Miltiades) and the brother of Aeschylus, Cynaegirus, whose hand was cut off while he was seizing the stern of a Persian vessel, and probably also Aeschylus himself, who fought with his two brothers so gallantly in the first ranks. At Delphi too Polygnotus painted on the walls of the Lesche (Club-room) of the Cnidians a *Fall of Troy* and a *Descent of Odysseus into Hades*. Then, some twenty years later, he was probably employed to adorn with votive pictures the Gallery of Paintings (Pinacotheca) founded in connexion with the New Propylaea of the Acropolis (437–432). He seems to have used sober colours and flat untoned tints, producing coloured designs rather than what we call pictures ; but he is said to have shown such purity in outline, such variety in composition, such imagination, and such wonderful expression in face and in attitude that he created many types which proved for a long time permanent in Greek painting. After Polygnotus came Apollodorus, an Athenian, who, says Plutarch, first gave attention to ‘apochrosis,’ *i.e.*, *chiaroscuro*, or rather *tone*—the gradations of colour affected by light and by shade. With the wealthy and arrogant Zeuxis, a contemporary of Thucydides and Euripides (*fl.* *c.* 430), begins a new era of Greek painting, which we shall consider at the end of the Hellenistic period. Here I need recall only the fact that he painted the famous picture of Helen of Troy for the temple of Lacinian Hera, near Crotona—from which city he is said to have selected as models the five most lovely maidens in order to extract from their charms the quintessence of beauty requisite for his purpose.



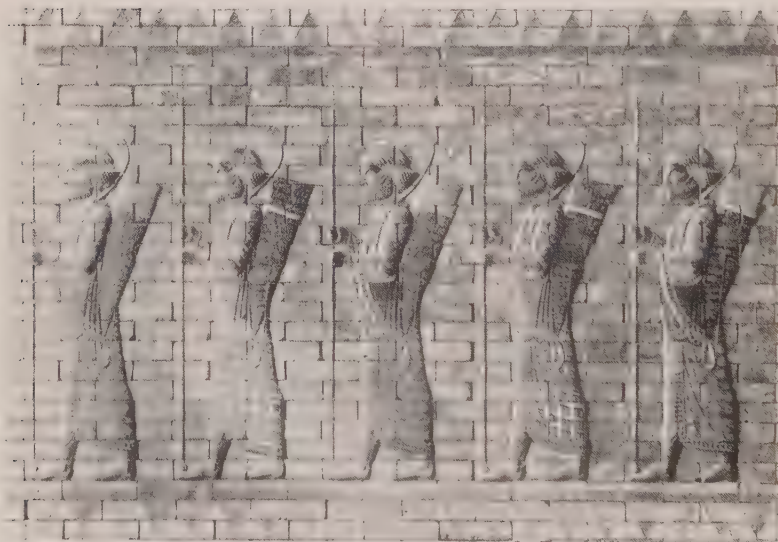
70. GREEK STELE
Mercury, Eurydice, and Orpheus
Naples, Museo Nazionale
Photo Alinari



71. THE TOMB OF CYRUS AT PASARGADAE

Visited as such by Alexander the Great

From Dr Sarre's *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Ernst Wasmuth, A.-G., Berlin)



72. THE 'ARCHERS' OF DARIUS

From the palace of Darius, Susa

Louvre

Photo Giraudon

NOTE ON PERSIA

NOTE ON PERSIA

The chief kings of the Medo-Persian Empire, founded by 'Cyrus the Persian' and overthrown by Alexander the Great, were :

Cyrus, descendant of Achaemenes. Conquers Lydia (Croesus),
c. 546. Takes Babylon, 538.

Cambyses. Conquers Egypt, 525.

Darius I. Invades Thrace. Battle of Marathon, 490.

Xerxes I. Salamis, 480.

Artaxerxes II (Mnemon). Revolt of Cyrus the Younger.
The Anabasis and battle of Cunaxa, 401.

Darius III. Conquered by Alexander at Arbela, 331.

Cyrus and his mountaineer Persians were of Aryan, not Semitic, race. His conquests extended from the Caspian to the Indus, the Persian Gulf, and the Aegean, and finally included Babylonia.¹ His son Cambyses added Syria and Egypt. In the central part of the empire, the region called Iran, the old capital was Pasargadae, near the supposed site of which is what may be the tomb of Cyrus (Fig. 71), but Darius abandoned it for Susa and made Persepolis, as the Greeks called that 'richest city under the sun,' his favourite residence, near which, on the 'Royal Mount,' are still to be seen the façades of his tomb and that of Xerxes cut out of the face of a precipice.

The religion of the Persians was a form of Light-worship—not the Sun-worship of the Chaldaeans and Phoenicians with its horrid human sacrifices, but one derived from the teachings of Zoroaster and founded on the adoration of Good as personified in the 'All-wise Lord,' Ahura Mazdah, and as symbolized by Light, in perpetual antagonism with Evil, or Darkness, called also 'The Lie.' They abhorred idols and built no temples, but erected great stone altars

¹ Herodotus makes him rebel against his grandfather Astyages, but Xenophon and Ctesias (surgeon to Artaxerxes II) make him no relation of the Median dynasty, and say that he took Babylon as general of Cyaxares II, son of Astyages, and then dethroned him. This Cyaxares is perhaps the enigmatical 'Darius the Mede' of Daniel v, 31, the word 'Darius' being a regal title.

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(relics of which have been found) on platforms of natural rock under the open sky.¹ Such religious ideas may explain, if not excuse, the iconoclastic fury with which they destroyed Greek temples.²

Persian architecture of this era cannot be regarded as a genuine growth, for although it certainly had striking characteristics these were evidently due to the caprices of powerful and wealthy monarchs rather than to any national instincts. Nor did it assimilate and combine into an artistic whole the various elements that it borrowed from Assyria, Babylonia, Ionia, and Egypt—which country was conquered and exploited by the half-insane Cambyses. Consequently the rather bizarre style exhibited in the vast buildings of these Achaemenid kings came entirely to an end when, after about two centuries, the Medo-Persian Empire was overthrown by Alexander; and later Persian architecture—that of the Arsacid and Sassanid era—was a new growth that sprang from the old Chaldaean and Babylonian system of brick arches, vaultings, and cupolas.

The chief relics of Achaemenid architecture are vast ruins at Persepolis, excavated remains at Susa, and the tombs of Darius, Xerxes, and other monarchs on the 'Royal Mount' near Persepolis. These tombs, which are like those of Ionia, being excavated in the middle of a high and perpendicular precipice, have remained almost intact. The façades, carved out of the solid rock, evidently imitate the front of a Persian palace of that era. The slender Ionic-based columns are topped by the strange and characteristic Achaemenid capitals formed by the heads and forequarters of two bulls and are surmounted by an architrave cut into three planes and a toothed cornice, as in the Ionic order. Above this are sculptured two lines of figures seemingly in the attitude of adoration, while the king makes an offering on a Persian altar to the Sun-god.

¹ The Persian Sun-god Mithras was among the strange deities cultivated by Romans under the Empire, and by them both shrines and sculptures were used. The Magi were Persian high priests. They attained great political power. The last researches on the subject are to be found in *The Treasure of the Magi*, by Dr Moulton.

² E.g., all those in Athens. For the Branchidae temple see pp. 75, 77, and for Delphi pp. 74, 86 n. For the Persian character see *Ancient Greece*, p. 185. Herodotus and Xenophon give us much information about Persian customs.

NOTE ON PERSIA

There is in the Louvre a fine specimen—found at Susa—of a great Achaemenid capital—more strange and repulsive than even the ‘Hathor’ capital of Egypt (see pp. 17, 22). It consists of the heads and forequarters of two bulls, between which the architrave finds support, and volutes, like the Ionic, appear in a vertical position on the shaft of the column. At Susa M. and Mme Dieulafoy had the fortune to excavate the basement of a vast palace—the *Apadana*, or ‘Hall of the Throne,’ of Artaxerxes II, which covered a space of about ten thousand square yards and once consisted of huge castellated battlements and porticos with immensely tall columns crowned with such bull-head capitals. It was here that were discovered a fine frieze of glazed and coloured terra-cotta with a procession of lions (evidently imitated from Assyrian palaces) and another with the ‘*Archers*’ of Darius, nine of which figures, yellow and brown against a glaucous background, are to be seen in the Louvre (Fig. 72).

On the site of Persepolis, in the valley of the Araxes, there are immense ruins crowning a rocky eminence—the remains of the residences of Darius and Xerxes and of the vast palaces (*Apadanas*) of these and later kings which, it is said, Alexander tried to burn to the ground, incited by the Athenian courtesan Thais. The platform of rock is surrounded by three natural terraces. These were cased with great uncemented blocks of marble and other stone and connected by broad and splendid flights of steps with one another and with the platform. On the terraces are yet to be seen huge pylons (gateways) like those of Egyptian temples and columns and the remains of ramparts and other buildings that surrounded the royal palaces. The walls of these palaces were brick adorned with terra-cotta and have disappeared, but great masses of ruin including mighty pylons flanked with colossal winged bulls, like those of Assyrian palaces, remain. So we can form some idea of the immense Apadana of Darius, with its hall of a hundred columns, that almost rivalled that of Karnak in grandeur.¹

¹ The hall was larger, but the columns were only some 40 feet high—half the height of some at Karnak.

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The Apadana of Xerxes, near that of Darius, had four great halls, or porticos, and possessed seventy-two fluted columns about 60 feet high. From the relics it is evident that the shafts of these lofty columns had the slimness and elegance that are so noticeable in the Ionic order; and from this order were imitated also the general features of the entablature; and even the very ungainly capitals with their massive effigies of crouching bulls and their great, senseless, inverted volutes were doubtless suggested by the general form of the Ionic capital.¹ And here we may note that, as the main features of Achaemenid architecture were derived from Ionia, where the buildings were originally wooden structures—a fact that accounts for the slimness and height of the Ionic column—it seems to emphasize its artificiality when we remember that the region in which Persepolis lies is almost entirely without trees. It is true that remains have been discovered of fountains and reservoirs and channels which allow us to imagine the palaces standing amidst gardens such as those of Babylonia or ‘Paradises’ (Parks) such as Xenophon describes in his *Anabasis* and his *Education of Cyrus*; but these gardens were doubtless only an oasis amidst such stony desolation as still reigns far and wide around.

Besides the terra-cotta lions and ‘*Archers*’ already mentioned as having been unearthed on the site of the huge Apadana of Artaxerxes at Susa there have been discovered at Persepolis some rather fine bas-reliefs which adorned the basement of the palace of Xerxes and the marble walls of the great staircases leading up to the palaces. The general style of these reliefs is distinctly Assyrian, but an interesting proof of the very great difference between the Persian and the Assyrian character and ethics is the fact that, although triumphs and processions and embassies from subject peoples are depicted, there are no scenes of carnage or inhuman atrocities, such as we find so often in Assyrian sculptures. Figures of lions and other wild animals are used decoratively, and motives occur like those found on ancient Chaldaean

¹ Below the bulls and the volutes these columns of Xerxes’ palace had forms like those of the Egyptian ‘bell’ and ‘palm’ and ‘lotus’ capitals. Such a bizarre medley shows how entirely also these Persian architects lacked true formative genius.

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cylinders, such as the taming of a monstrous evil Genius by a deity or a king.

Persian art under the Seleucidae is touched upon in the chapter on Hellenistic art, and that which flourished in Persia under the Parthian Arsacidae (250 B.C. to A.D. 226) and the powerful Sassanidae (A.D. 226 to A.D. 641) is referred to in a later chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE FOURTH CENTURY

THE Persian and Punic invasions had aroused the whole Hellenic world and for a time had united Greece against the barbarians, and piety and patriotism had found expression in magnificent temples and in sculpture. But jealousies and the lust for 'Empire' and 'Hegemony' soon afterward involved the two chief Greek states and their allies in that long and disastrous conflict which we, regarding it from the Athenian standpoint, call the 'Peloponnesian War'; and although the patriotic and religious enthusiasms which had so strongly influenced art remained undiminished in intensity, they were now directed against Hellenic and not barbarian foes; and it is very noticeable how, during these deplorable years, a feeling of shame seems to have prevented art from attempting to immortalize in sculpture or painting or poetry the triumphs of fratricide. While this civil war was raging were written the finest dramas of Sophocles and Euripides, in which were treated the myths of ancient times, and on temples were carved ancient battle-scenes and the feats of legendary heroes, and high on the Acropolis stood the colossal *Athene* defying the barbarian invader; but scarcely anything in great contemporary literature except the strangely unemotional history of the Athenian Thucydides, and the by no means orthodox patriotism of the comedies in which Aristophanes satirizes the war-party and the democracy, touches on the events of this long struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta; no great drama of this period holds up a mirror to the times as had been done by the *Persae*, in which Aeschylus gives us such magnificent descriptions of the battle of Salamis and of the terror-stricken flight of Xerxes from Greece;¹ nor—with the possible exception of the

¹ This is eloquently put by Isocrates in his famous *Panegyric*, written in 387.

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Victory of Paonius—does any extant work of sculpture of this era seem to have been due to triumph over or defiance of fellow-Greeks.¹

After the fall of Athens and during the following era of continual strife and national disintegration the old patriotic and religious motives died almost entirely out, and ere long the rise of Macedonia put an end—until our days—to the possibilities of Hellenic national unity as well as to old Hellenic enthusiasms and old Hellenic art.

It is this era, from the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 until the death of Alexander the Great in 323, that we have now to consider. Of great architecture at Athens we shall discover scarcely a trace; elsewhere we shall find chiefly reconstructions of ancient fanes. Sculpture seems to have been more favoured by the spirit of the age. It is true that it had lost its grand motives, its ideality, its impersonality, its majestic conceptions of godhead; but, like the Euripidean drama, it gained in personality the power to arouse more widely, if not so profoundly, human emotions and human sympathies; it brought the gods down to earth to dwell among men and figured them as physically perfect human beings; it appeals to the sensuous rather than to the ideal part of our nature, to our affections rather than our reverence.²

Architecture

Let us first look to regions outside mainland Greece. In Sicily no great architecture of the age of the Dionysii, Timoleon, and Agathocles is extant, except fortifications, theatres, etc., erected during the long struggle against Carthage, and much built over by later Roman architects. In South Italy the Greek cities were now rapidly declining in power and were doomed ere long to become Roman. Except some exquisite coins and vase-paintings there is little remaining of the fourth-century art of Western Hellas.

¹ Bronze statues were erected at Delphi by the Spartans after their victory at Aegospotami, and there still exists the Lion on the battlefield of Chaeroneia (338). But this Lion was not erected by the victors.

² It is easy to feel the reasons why the bronze of the 'athletic' school was now mostly superseded by marble.

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On the island of Delos, the birthplace of Apollo, the god's ancient temple was rebuilt about this time—probably when (c. 376) the victory off Naxos had for a short time given Athens once more the naval hegemony and had allowed her to reconstitute the 'Confederacy' of which Delos was the centre and treasure-house. This celebrated oracular fane of Apollo was doubtless reconstructed entirely in Doric style.

In Ionian regions, on the other side of the Aegean, the Ionic style was still used almost exclusively for great edifices. Here during the first half of the fourth century two very great temples were reconstructed, and the magnificent Mausoleum was built—the vast monument which Artemisia II, Queen of Caria, a descendant of the famous Artemisia of Salamis, erected to the memory of her husband, Mausolus.

(1) One great reconstructed temple was the *third temple of Diana* at Ephesus, designed by Dinocrates, who also designed the city of Alexandria. The *second* (see pp. 71, 75) had been burnt down, it is said, on the very night in the year 356 on which Alexander the Great was born. Reconstruction was begun almost at once on a vast scale. When finished (c. 300) it was the greatest temple in the Hellenic world.¹ Its huge Ionic columns (8 × 20 in double colonnades) formed a portico at each end, the outer ones standing on the interspace of two magnificent flights of marble steps. The lower portion of some of these great columns was, according to an ancient fashion, not fluted but adorned with reliefs. One of these 'drums,' with a most beautiful relief, perhaps by Scopas, is to be seen now in the British Museum (Fig. 73 and p. 111), and was doubtless seen, if not noticed admiringly, by St Paul.

(2) Another was the *temple of Apollo* at Didyma, near Miletus, known as the *Branchidae* temple and famous from very ancient times for its oracles (pp. 75, 77). It was rebuilt probably by order of Alexander the Great, whose pious enthusiasm for this oracular fane led him to commit the dastardly crime of slaughtering every man, woman,

¹ Alexander offered to bear the whole expense if the fact were recorded by an inscription on the temple, but the offer was refused on the ground that 'it was not meet for one god to build a temple to another.' No such scruple had occurred in the case of Croesus!



73. DRUM OF COLUMN

From the later temple of Artemis, Ephesus

British Museum

Photo Mansell



74. MAUSOLUS
British Museum
Photo Mansell

THE FOURTH CENTURY

and child of the descendants of the Branchidae (living in exile in Turkestan) because their forefathers were accused of having surrendered the temple to Xerxes. The new temple was meant to surpass all Greek temples, and was so great, they say, that it could not be roofed! Its 120 columns formed double colonnades, as in the Ephesian temple, but there was only one portico, five columns in depth. Some of the columns are still *in situ*. They are about 60 feet in height and show a Persian character, *avec têtes humaines dans les volutes et tête de taureau au centre* (Peyre).

(3) The *Mausoleum* was built between 352 and 350. It was an oblong edifice (about 60 feet by 42 feet and about 140 feet high) with thirty-six Ionic columns set on a high basement and supporting a pyramidal roof, on the summit of which was a bronzen four-horse chariot. Pliny, who thus describes it, names among the designers and decorators two famous sculptors, Scopas and Leochares. The Mausoleum stood fairly intact till it was ruined by an earthquake in the twelfth century,



THE MAUSOLEUM
Reconstruction by Adler

and early in the fourteenth it was demolished by the Knights of St John, who used the material for building their Castle of Budrun and burnt for lime almost all the thirty-six statues that stood between the columns. A few relics of the frieze bas-reliefs were excavated, or found built into the gallant Knights' castle, and brought to England about 1857. Some show a Scopas-like dramatic vigour, and there is also in the British Museum a very noble statue of Mausolus himself (Fig. 74) which probably stood, with that of Artemisia, inside the building, and not on the roof in the chariot, as is sometimes supposed; for it is so little damaged that it could not well have fallen from such a height; besides, it is on a smaller scale than the *quadrigae*, among the fragments of

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which it was found. It is evidently a realistic portrait of the Carian prince, the features being decidedly not Hellenic.

In Greece itself Doric had now yielded largely to the more graceful Ionic, or was combined with it, being reserved generally only for the external colonnades of important buildings. Thus at Tegea, in the Peloponnese, a great temple of Athene, designed probably (*c.* 360–350) by the sculptor Scopas, was exteriorly Doric, but the columns of the interior were Ionic, or perhaps partly Corinthian. It has been mentioned that considerably earlier (*c.* 430) the splendid Doric temple at Phigaleia possessed interiorly columns of an Ionic character and *one*—the earliest known example—of the Corinthian order. This Corinthian order, with its vase-shaped capital enclosed in two rows of acanthus leaves, is really only a variety of the Ionic. Its flutings, entablature, and base are almost identical, and though the volutes are simply formed by the bending back of the acanthus leaves and in early specimens nearly disappear amidst the luxuriant foliage, they reappear markedly in Roman Corinthian and become genuine Ionic volutes in the Roman Composite capital. This order, like the Ionic, was generally reserved for interiors, but was used exteriorly (*c.* 334) in the small and elegant choragic monument of Lysicrates¹ and in the Tower of the Winds at Athens, as well as in the Olympieion, the huge Corinthian columns of which, however, date only from 170 B.C., or from considerably later. In the fourth century, except in rare cases as that of the Lysicrates monument, it was seemingly used only interiorly, as in the Tholos at Epidaurus—a circular edifice with twenty-six Doric columns externally and fourteen internally—and in the Philippeion, a circular shrine at Olympia erected by King Philip of Macedon for the ivory and gold statues of his ancestors made by Leochares.

Sculpture

The characteristics of Greek sculpture of the fourth century have been pointed out. It remains to name the foremost

¹ On the roof was held aloft by a pedestal of acanthus leaves the bronzen tripod won at a musical contest. The Corinthian order was first used exteriorly, it is said, in a temple of Asclepius at Tralles (Asia Minor) about 330.



75. THE SATYR (FAUN) OF PRAXITELES

See p. 113. *Rome, Capitol*

Photo Anderson



76. APOLLO SAUROCTONOS (LIZARD-KILLER)

By Praxiteles. See p. 113

Photo Mansell

THE FOURTH CENTURY

sculptors and to mention the chief of their works which (or copies of which) are extant.

Scopas (*fl. c. 370*) was a native of the island Paros—whence the beautiful Parian marble comes. He seems to have formed his style mostly under Peloponnesian influences, accepting as his canon the work of Polycleitus, for although there is discernible also, if we can judge from the rare extant sculptures attributed to him, a certain sense of Pheidian self-restraint and grace, the dramatic expression of strong emotion, seen in his open-eyed faces and strenuous figures, was evidently his speciality. He is sometimes described as the Greek Michelangelo, but we really possess no certain proofs of his greatness. By him may be two heads with traces of intense emotion on their mutilated faces excavated on the site of the Athene temple at Tegea, which, as already stated, was probably built by him; also a fine figure of what may have been an Atalanta; for the sculptures of one pediment are said to have represented the famous Hunt of the Calydonian Boar. To him may perhaps be attributed the dignified seated statue of Demeter (Ceres) in the British Museum—or anyhow the Parian head.¹ The beautiful sculptured drum (Fig. 73) of a column belonging to the great Ephesian temple has been noticed. It probably represents a scene between Alcestis, Death, and Hermes (the 'Guider of Souls'). Its delicate beauty is surely Attic—far more likely to be a work of Praxiteles than of Scopas; but we are told that it 'presents his characteristics,' so it may possibly be that this is the very column which the Roman writer Pliny, some centuries later, said that Scopas sculptured. The frieze of the Mausoleum has likewise been noticed. Some of the reliefs, from the east side of the building, are in the British Museum. They represent fights between Greeks and Amazons and are so masterly in design and execution that they are perhaps rightly believed to be the work of Scopas, and the grand statue of Mausolus himself is possibly his. Less reasonably, surely, is attributed to him the Vatican *Apollo*

¹ The body is of marble of Cnidus, where both parts were discovered. A head that may possibly be that of the Meleager of the Tegean temple is in the Villa Medici at Rome.

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Citharoedus (Fig. 87).¹ It seems to lack entirely the qualities that we associate with his name. It offers a striking and significant contrast to the earlier statue of the same name and subject treated in the Pheidian manner (pp. 97-8).

The influence on later art of the energetic and dramatic style of Scopas is perhaps even more discernible than that of Praxiteles, and as Praxitelean grace and beauty degenerated into effeminacy and coquetry, so the vigour of Scopas led to such strenuosities as the huge Altar of Pergamon, the *Farnese Bull* (p. 125), the Colossus of Rhodes, and—perhaps we should add—the Laocoon and the Niobe groups.

Praxiteles (*fl. c.* 360), an Athenian, was probably the pupil—perhaps the son or younger brother—of Cephisodotus, who was possibly the pupil and son of Alcamenes, a sculptor of the Pheidian school. Cephisodotus is credited with an attractive statue of Eirene (Peace) carrying the infant Plutus (Wealth) which, while possessing some of the grace and dignity of the older Attic sculptors, illustrates strikingly the new tendency, even reminding one by its touch of nature and human affection of some Madonna and Child of medieval art. The sculpture (known only by an indifferent copy at Munich) is moreover interesting because its motive is similar to that of the one indubitably original extant work of Praxiteles, namely the famous *Hermes* (Mercury). The greater part of this statue, including the fine head, was discovered (1878) by German excavators on the site of the temple of Hera at Olympia, near the spot on which Pausanias had seen, about seventeen centuries before, ‘a Hermes [Mercury] of marble carrying the infant Dionysus [Bacchus]—a work of Praxiteles.’ The exquisite technique and finish are extolled by experts, and every one is capable of admiring the fine proportions and outlines of the figure, but there is a dandified, self-assured air about the elder god and a precociousness—one might almost call it old-mannishness—in the child that do not for all admirers permit full enjoyment.

It is said that when the famous professional beauty Phryne, to whom Praxiteles had promised a statue, wished

¹ Since writing this I have found it asserted that this *Apollon* belongs to a group of Muses (Vatican) and is said to be of ‘Praxitelean type’—an expression covering numberless variants. Assuredly the very weakly designed drapery and the want of real dignity or grace scarcely deserve to be associated with Praxiteles.



77. HERMES
An original by Praxiteles
Olympia
Photo Alinari



78. ANCIENT COPY, PERHAPS FROM THE ORIGINAL,
OF THE HEAD OF THE CNIDIAN APHRODITE
Berlin
Photo F. Bruckmann



79. THE CNIDIAN APHRODITE OF PRAXITELES

Vatican

Photo Mansell

THE FOURTH CENTURY

to discover which he considered the best of his works she told him that his house was on fire, whereupon he exclaimed that he was ruined if his *Satyr* and his *Eros* were burnt; so she chose the *Eros*. A (*Sleeping*?) *Satyr* by Praxiteles is extolled by ancient writers. In the well-known *Resting Satyr*, or *Faun*, in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 75) we have a very fine statue that is probably copied from one of the variants of the type created by Praxiteles.¹ The, formerly winged, *Cupid of Centocelle*, or 'Genius of the Vatican,' as it is sometimes called (Fig. 88), may be an imitation of his *Eros*, as also another Cupid at Naples; but they are probably only reminiscences of it, for if we may judge from coins the Praxitelean statue was more like the strong, manly *Eros* of older art and poetry.² The original *Apollo Sauroctonos* (Lizard-killer) of which there are two admirable copies extant (Vatican and Louvre) is said to have been a work (perhaps bronzen) of this master. Its lithe elegance is certainly masterly. (See Fig. 76.)

The masterpiece of Praxiteles and, according to some old writers, the most beautiful of all statues was his *Cnidian Aphrodite*. It was made for the people of the island Cos, but they, it is said, preferred a draped goddess.³ So it was bought by the neighbouring people of Cnidus, who refused to part with it when a king of Bithynia offered to pay off the whole of their public debt in exchange for it. From Cnidian coins various copies have been recognized. The best of these is in the Vatican. Fig. 79 represents the goddess before she was draped in a tin skirt by papal orders. A somewhat different but very beautiful head, also believed to be imitated from the original Aphrodite, is given in Fig. 78. It is in a private collection in Berlin.

In the Roman National Museum (*delle Terme*) there is an armless and otherwise somewhat mutilated statue, lately discovered at Anzio (*Antium*), which on many persons exercises a strong fascination, almost as if it were some very

¹ There are (I am told by Mrs Strong) forty-seven specimens extant (statuettes, etc.) of this *Satyr*.

² The *Eros* was given by Phryne to her birthplace, Thespieae, and attracted many visitors, as did the *Aphrodite* to Cnidus.

³ Curiously enough—for *Coae vestes* had a bad repute as almost invisible garments worn by smart women in Rome.

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fascinating human being. It may be a boy, but is usually called *La Fanciulla d'Anzio*, or else *La Purificatrice*, for she (or he) carries a kind of tray containing what may be incense, etc., for purification. The figure, attitude, and drapery are all exquisite, and one would like to be able to regard it as the work of Praxiteles, or even a Graeco-Roman copy of his work. It may however be Hellenistic, for in that era were produced works sometimes rivalling those of earlier masters.

Praxiteles can scarcely be called a follower of Pheidias, for although he inherited the old Attic[™] (perhaps Ionian) sense of beauty he was apparently not affected, as were Pheidias and Scopas, by the dramatic vigour of the Argive school. He created many types of grace and beauty which deeply influenced Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman sculpture. Probably many well-known but unauthenticated statues in our galleries are repetitions or imitations, more or less faithful, of works either executed or designed by this master, or his more gifted pupils. Among these sculptures may be mentioned as Praxitelean in character the *Diana of Gabii* (Louvre); the *Venus de' Medici* (Uffizi); the *Ludovisi Hera* (*Juno*) (Museo Naz., Rome); the *Bacchus* (*Narcissus*?) (a bronze found at Pompeii); the *Venus of the Capitol* (Rome); the *Venus of Capua* (Naples); and the *Venus of Arles* (Louvre). Besides these there are numerous extant statues attributable to this era (say 400–350), not a few of which are of very great beauty, in spite of the faint praise bestowed on them by those who reserve all their enthusiasm for the Pheidian age. Of these statues the celebrated *Venus of Melos* (Fig. 1) has been relegated by some writers to the beginning of the Hellenistic period (after Alexander's death in 323), but, although I find it hard to accept what Professor Gardner says, namely that 'the sculptor who made this Aphrodite must have lived in spirit in the age of Pheidias,' and that 'for a conception of the female figure at once so dignified and so beautiful we have to go back to the Parthenon,' I concur with those who, as Professor Carotti, regard it as combining the best qualities of the schools of Scopas and Praxiteles and assert that it is an 'incomparable work of plastic beauty.' It was discovered



80. THE VENUS DE' MEDICI
By Cleomenes (L)
Florence, Uffizi
Photo Brogi



81. THE VENUS OF CAPUA
Naples, Museo Nazionale
Photo Brogi



82. THE LUDOVISI HERA

Rome, Museo Nazionale

Photo Brogi

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(1820) on the island of Melos in a grotto, and near it was found a fragment of a pedestal bearing the name of [Ale]xander of Antioch on the Macander. The man is unknown, and the inscription, dating apparently from about 100 B.C., has probably no connexion with the statue.

Another well-known statue, the original of which (perhaps a bronze) some would assign to a much later date, is the *Apollo del Belvedere* (Fig. 83). It does indeed betray in smoothness of modelling, length of limb, and theatrical pose a tendency toward exaggerated gracefulness which seems to distinguish it as sharply from the works of Praxiteles as from the *Aphrodite of Melos*, but in spite of the contempt sometimes nowadays poured on a Byronic admiration for this revelation of beautiful disdain and might and majesty it remains, and will continue to remain, one of the most magically attractive of all Greek statues. Some would attribute it to Leochares (of whom more later), on account of some fancied resemblance in regard to technique between it and the *Ganymede*. It was discovered, about 1500, in a Roman villa near Grottaferrata.

The very well-known bust of Zeus found at Otricoli (now in the Vatican), although it may have reminiscences of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, is probably a work of the Praxitelean period and belongs to the traditional type that appears later on coins (Macedonian and Hellenistic) and in Graeco-Roman sculpture. (See Fig. 102.)

In the British Museum is a most beautiful bronze head—perhaps of Aphrodite—which was found in Armenia, but is evidently Greek, and of this era. There is also another exceedingly fine and well-known bronze head—with appended wings—which is likewise attributed to this period, and doubtless represents the god of sleep (Hypnos). Fortunately the body has been discovered. The statue as now put together exhibits a youth running and bending forward. He probably held a poppy in his hand. Another fine bronze of this period was probably the original of the *Diana of the Louvre*, the grace and nobility of which have been deplorably ruined by the addition of the absurd doe, necessary for the marble statue. Among the most beautiful products of this age of Praxiteles—indeed of the whole fourth century—are the Attic *stelae* and other monumental sculptures—many to be

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seen in the museums at Athens. As was natural, the old motives (described on a former occasion) continued, as well as ready-made tombstones, but the figures and faces are in the best specimens now less typical—more personal, more pathetic, and sometimes of an exquisite beauty and nobility.

Many portrait statues, as well as busts, of this era are exceedingly fine. The habit of carving imaginative representations of deities, heroes, and celebrities of former times was giving way to portraits, still somewhat idealized. Of this nature is the very striking statue of Sophocles (Fig. 96), made doubtless some years after the death of the poet in 406. This should be compared with that of Demosthenes, probably by Lysippus, which is a fine example of a realistic portrait statue, as might be expected, for Demosthenes and Lysippus were contemporaries.¹

Leochares is named as one of the sculptors who, about the middle of the century, assisted Scopas in supplying sculpture for the Mausoleum. He is also mentioned as the designer of the chryselephantine portrait statues which Philip II, about 335, erected in the Philippeion at Olympia, of himself and other members of the royal house of Macedonia. Extant busts of Isocrates may be copied from a statue of this venerable, peace-loving orator by Leochares, which was erected at Eleusis.² The only work of this sculptor of which we have fairly certain copies (the best in the Vatican) is that representing Ganymede being carried off by the eagle—a clever production but assuredly not such as to make one believe him capable of producing the *Apollon del Belvedere*.

Lysippus (fl. c. 330) was the foremost Greek sculptor during the reign of Alexander the Great, who is said to have

¹ The *Euripides* of the Vatican has an ancient Euripidean head (evidently idealized) substituted (by Pío VII) for its original non-Euripidean head! In the *Demosthenes* the restoration of the arms is false. The hands should be locked together and there should be no book. If by Lysippus, it was probably made before the disastrous battle of Chaeroneia (338) and while Demosthenes was still inveighing in his *Philippics* against Philip of Macedon, whose celebrated son captured the services of Lysippus. Also the *Aeschines* of the Naples Museum, which cannot well date before about 350, is better attributed to the period of Lysippus.

² Isocrates, that 'old man eloquent' whose *Arcopagitica* gave its name to Milton's scarcely less celebrated work, advocated all his long life a pacific understanding between Athens and Sparta and hailed Philip, no less fervently than Dante hailed Henry VII, as the saviour of his fatherland. The news of Chaeroneia (338) is said to have killed him.



83. APOLLO DEL BELVEDERE

Vatican

Photo Brogi



84. RESTING HERMES (MERCURY)

Greek bronze. Found at Herculaneum

Naples, Museo Nazionale

Photo Brogi

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allowed none but him and the painter Apelles to portray him—all others, Plutarch tells us, having ‘failed to render his leonine aspect.’ Lysippus was of the school of Polycleitus, but created a new ‘canon.’ Though his maxim was ‘Nature the one true guide,’ his ideal, or rather his ideals, of manly form, to judge from his supposed works and those of his school, were certainly not such as one usually adopts under the guidance of Nature. He seems to have favoured, perhaps at different epochs, two very different types, as may be seen by comparing the *Farnese Heracles* with the *Resting Hermes*—both probably of his design. The slender type is unnaturally long-limbed, and has a head the length of which is about the eighth instead of the seventh of the height of the whole figure.¹

According to Pliny, Lysippus put a coin in his money-box whenever he received payment for a commission, and at his death fifteen hundred coins were found in it. Doubtless from his designs a very large number of statues were produced—most of them probably bronzes—but comparatively little is extant that can be certainly attributed to him. There is the *Apoxyomenos*, an athlete scraping himself with a *strigil*—of which a good marble copy, with the usual eyesore of a support, exists in the Vatican; there is what is believed to be a marble copy of his bronze statue of Agias the athlete—a splendid nude figure—which has been discovered, together with fragments of six others, at Delphi by French excavators; there is the *Farnese Heracles* (Naples Museum and Pitti), which is thought to be a marble copy of one of his bronzes of the massively muscular type; there is the rather heavy but impressive *Ludovisi Ares* in the National Museum at Rome; there is a *Seated Heracles* (bronze) discovered not long ago and now at Naples;² there is the (already described) statue of Demosthenes; there is the wonderfully beautiful bronzen *Resting Hermes*—‘new lighted on a heaven-kissing hill’; there is the *Seated Pugilist*, a great bronze in the National

¹ These proportions hold very nearly in the *Apoxyomenos* and the *Resting Hermes* (and the *Apollo del Belvedere*) as contrasted with the *Doryphoros* of Polycleitus (the ‘Canon’) and the *Hermes* of Praxiteles. In the *Apollo* a too elegant effect is wonderfully counteracted by the superstructure of the Sun-god’s radiant hair.

² Of his *Seated Heracles* he is said to have made for Alexander a statuette, which, Martial asserts, came later into the possession of Hannibal and Sulla.

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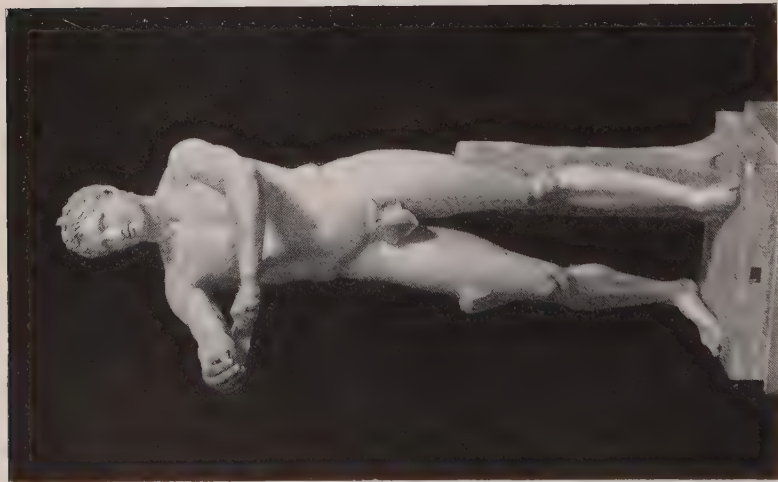
Museum at Rome, the repulsive realism of which shows the bleeding wounds that the man has received ; but we cannot feel sure that any of these, except perhaps the first two, are even copies of originals by his hand, although all of them are undoubtedly in his manner.

Statues and busts of Alexander the Great exist which are attributed to Lysippus, but here there is [great difference of opinion. Some regard as probably of his work a statue at Munich and a bust in the Louvre. More reasonable I think is the view that the bust in the British Museum should be regarded as the most authentic, for it represents him, as Plutarch describes him, with 'leonine' aspect and 'swimming' eyes—in whose depths passion and insanity seem to lurk—and with that 'bend of the neck,' due to a wound, which was imitated by courtiers and by some of his successors. The 'leonine' type of Alexander portrait is to be seen on coins, and we may feel sure that it was adopted by Apelles in his famous picture in which he represented Alexander—son of Zeus Ammon, as he claimed to be—wielding a thunderbolt. In connexion with Alexander may be mentioned a magnificent work of art that was doubtless a product of the school of Lysippus—the so-called 'Alexander Sarcophagus,' which was found at Sidon and is now at Constantinople.¹ The reliefs represent Alexander and his Macedonian warriors fighting—at Issus ?—against Persians, recognizable by their costume (*braccae* and *anaxyrides*). The colours with which the marble was stained are still easily visible. The marble is Pentelic (Attic), and that it should have got to Sidon is explainable by the rise of the kingdom of Syria with the great cities of Antioch and Seleucia. Probably of this period—although Pliny says it is 'doubtful whether it is by Praxiteles or Scopas,' and although by some it is still believed to be a work of Scopas—is the well-known group *Niobe and her Children*. The bigness and the theatrical pose of the figures seem indeed to indicate early Hellenistic, perhaps Rhodian, influences. Great admiration is sometimes felt for the intensity of grief and terror expressed

¹ A sarcophagus in the British Museum, found at Alexandria, has better claim to have contained Alexander's body. At Sidon were also found other sarcophagi with reliefs in most indubitably Attic style. One has a number of most beautiful female figures, to which the name *The Mourners* is given.



85. THE FARNESE HERACLES
Copy of bronze by Glycon of Athens
Naples, Museo Nazionale
Photo_Brogi] 〰



86. THE APOXYOMENOS

Athlete scraping oil from his body with a strigil.

Copy of the bronze by Lysippos. *Vatican*

Photo Brogi



87. APOLLO CITHAROEDUS (LYRE-PLAYER) OR
MUSAGETES (LEADER OF MUSES)

See p. 112. *Vatican*

Photo Brogi



88. EROS (CUPID)

School of Praxiteles. Called 'the Genius of the Vatican.' See p. 113
Photo Brogi



89. HEAD OF ARTEMIS (DIANA)

School of Praxiteles?

Vatican

Photo Alinari

THE FOURTH CENTURY

by the faces and gestures of the mother and some of the children, and we are assured by such an authority as Professor Carotti that these emotions 'could not be rendered with greater restraint.' In this admiration many are totally unable to share. Indeed the group gives them so little pleasure that it may be said to react on them like the over-acting and ranting of some fine Shakespearean scene. The most complete extant set (twelve figures, with two duplicates, most of them excavated at Rome, and perhaps the same that Pliny saw and describes) is in the Uffizi.¹ These are evidently Roman copies. Very much finer is the so-called (headless) *Niobid* of the Vatican, which is supposed to have belonged to the Niobe group. If this be so, it is either a very good Roman copy or may be one of the original figures that were, it is said, brought to Rome from Cilicia about 35 B.C. The wind-blown drapery reminds one of that of the *Nereids* (p. 98) and suggests the possibility that the original group *may* have been earlier and far finer work than one would infer from the contents of the Niobe room in the Uffizi. The group probably stood, not in the pediment of a temple, nor (as the *Nereids*) under the colonnade of a tomb, but on a rocky elevation against a background, and statues of the vengeful deities, Apollo and Artemis, were perhaps placed on a higher level, from which they were represented as launching their bolts at the ill-fated youths and maidens.

¹ Found about 1583 and brought to Florence in 1771 from the Medici Villa on the Pincio.

CHAPTER IV

THE HELLENISTIC ERA

AFTER the death of Alexander and the partition of his vast empire among his generals we have—amidst many wars—the rise of the kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, and later the Troad, with many great and flourishing cities, among which are of special note Antioch,¹ Alexandria, and Pergamon, besides which there was the artistically important republic of Rhodes. Greece, and especially Athens, retained for a season its prestige as the chief home of Hellenic literature, philosophy, and art, and some fine architectural works were erected, such as the Philippeion at Olympia (p. 116), the splendid Doric colonnade of the Hall of Mysteries at Eleusis (burnt by Alaric), the Tower of the Winds, and (of perhaps about 170 to 100) the huge Corinthian columns of the Olympieion at Athens, and the vast Odeion (Concert Hall) of Herodes Atticus as well as his Exedra at Olympia—a great fountain with a statue-peopled, domed grotto. But these were exceptions, for by the middle of the third century all great art, even that of vase-painting, was nearly extinct in the mother-country.²

Transplanted, however, to the Hellenized East, Greek art, until and after the Roman conquest, flourished luxuriantly and, especially in the case of sculpture, produced not a few works which, whatever contrasts they may offer to Pheidian calm and sublimity, are wondrous masterpieces. Let us, after a few preliminary remarks, note this new artistic activity at such centres as (*a*) Pergamon, (*b*) Rhodes, (*c*) Alexandria, and (*d*) in the farther East. The old religious motives which

¹ *I.e.*, the greatest of sixteen Antiochs, all founded by Alexander's general Seleucus, who after the battle of Ipsus (301) became almost supreme in the East. The Antiochi belonged to this dynasty.

² And yet the elder Pliny tells us that in his day (say about A.D. 60) Athens still possessed, after wholesale spoliations, at least three thousand statues. Olympia and Delphi probably possessed even more.



90. NIOBE AND HER YOUNGEST DAUGHTER

Florence, Uffizi
Photo Brogi



91. DYING GAUL
School of Pergamon. *Rome, Capitol*
Photo Brogi



92. THE KNIFE-WHETTER
Found at Rome. *Florence, Uffizi*
Photo Brogi

THE HELLENISTIC ERA

had produced such grand and venerated images of the gods and such mighty and splendidly adorned temples had now lost their pristine force. Images and temples were of course still in vogue among the pious, and many magnificent buildings and ceremonies were preserved for political or aesthetic reasons, but the number of new temples was now small in comparison with that of large edifices for non-religious purposes. Thus the character of the Hellenic city underwent a remarkable change—for, as Thucydides intimates in his famous Speech of Pericles, and as is proved by the huge extant temples of Paestum, and Acragas, and Selinus, and Athens itself, the greater cities of the ancient Hellenic world consisted usually of massive ‘houses of eternity’ set amid human ‘hospices,’ as they were called in ancient Egypt, so slightly built that in most cases they have utterly disappeared,¹ whereas in the great Hellenistic centres (as later in the cities of the Roman world) the chief square, the *agora* or *forum*, was surrounded by a number of imposing edifices, such as assembly rooms, courts of law, public halls and porticos, gymnasia, libraries, concert halls, theatres, etc. The size of these in Eastern Hellenistic cities was influenced by the huge buildings of Egypt and Assyria, while the style was often a mixture of Hellenic and Oriental, the arch, the vault, and the cupola being used as well as the architraval system. Even as far west as Pergamon the Egyptian palm-leaf capitals and on Delos (in connexion with Apollo’s temple) Oriental capitals with the Persian ‘semi-bull’ device have been found.

Of the more genuinely Greek edifices of this era perhaps the finest were the temples on the Pergamon acropolis and the magnificent circular (marble) temple known as the ‘Rotunda of Samothrace,’ built on that island by Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy II of Egypt. In this Rotunda and in the Pergamon temples light forms of Doric or Ionic were combined with Corinthian.

¹ It is true that in early times there were some great non-religious buildings such as the massive palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Troy—and those described by Homer!—and in the days of the Greek republics, though regal palaces were no longer built, there were some public edifices, as the Propylaea, and the Leschae of Olympia and Delphi, and the Athenian Odeion and the Poikile Stoa, etc. The Peiraeus too had a fine emporium (Place of Commerce), arsenal, quays, etc., and was laid out with regular streets.

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(a) Of the buildings on the **Pergamon** acropolis two are of especial interest—the temple of Athene Polias, and the great altar of Zeus and Athene which was erected on a basement, or platform, somewhat like that of an ancient Chaldaean or Babylonian sun-temple. This basement was some thirty-five yards square. The great tower-like high altar of the God of the Day and his warrior-daughter stood (as the altars of Sun-worshippers) under the open sky. It was enclosed on three sides by Ionic colonnaded porticos, and the sides of the vast basement, except where they were interrupted by a splendid flight of stairs, were adorned with a frieze of sculptures in high relief some 130 yards long and 8 feet broad. The kingdom of Pergamon was founded about forty years after Alexander's death. The third king was Attalus I, surnamed Soter, or 'Saviour.'¹ He owed his kingship mainly to his victories over the Gauls (Galatians) who had crossed from Thrace and whom he forced to settle down quietly in Galatia (c. 240). In or around the afore-mentioned temple of Athene Polias on the acropolis of Pergamon he erected four groups (about fifty figures) of statuary representing triumphs of Right over Brute Force (triumphs dear to the wise warrior-goddess), namely the victory of the Gods over the Giants, that of Theseus and the Athenians over the Amazons, the victory of Marathon, and his own over the barbarian Galatae. Of these (bronzen ?) statues he presented to the Athenian Acropolis marble replicas,² and two at least of these replicas we certainly possess—the well-known *Dying Gaul* (wrongly called *Gladiator*) of the Capitol Museum and an exceedingly fine group representing a Gaul stabbing himself and supporting the body of his wife, whom he has stabbed to prevent her falling into the power of the enemy.³ In the Neapolitan National Museum is a *Dying Gaul* somewhat like the Capitoline and evidently of similar origin. The very vigorous crouching *Persian*

¹ The city soon became famous for its splendour, and the great Pergamene Library rivalled that of Alexandria. (*Parchment* is so called from having been first used at Pergamon.) Attalus III, about 133, left his wealth and kingdom to the Romans.

² Bases of these statues have been found at Athens (one sixteen yards long), and it is plain from the way in which some of the sculptures were carefully excised from their bases that they were removed in order to be transported to Rome, or to Constantinople.

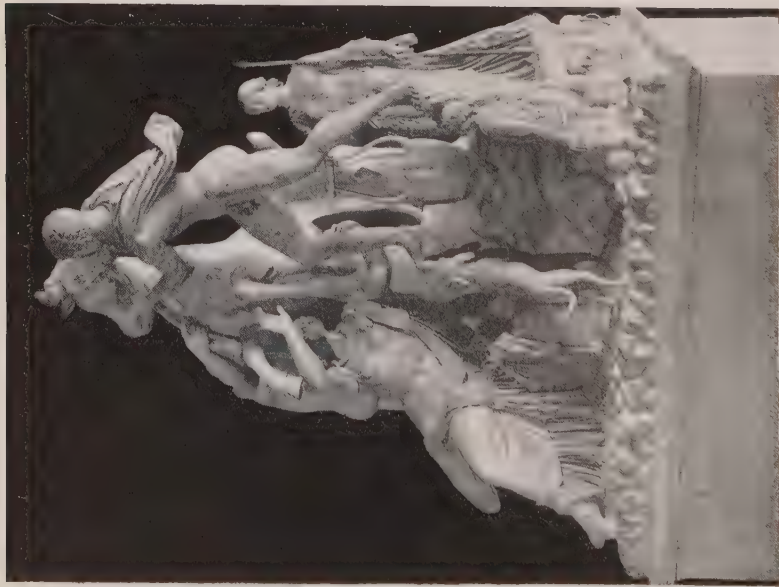
³ In the National Museum (*Terme*), Rome ; formerly called *Paetus and Arria*.



93. THE VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE

Louvre

X Photo



94. THE FARNESE BULL (PUNISHMENT OF DIRCE)

By Apollonius and Tauriscus
Naples, *Museo Nazionale*

Photo Brogi



95. THE LAOCOON

By three sculptors of Rhodes
Vatican

Photo Brogi

THE HELLENISTIC ERA

Fighter (in the Vatican) is probably a copy of one of the figures in the Marathon group. To the same school may be attributed the so-called *Borghese Gladiator* of the Louvre (really a fighter with upraised shield), whose lithe body and tense attitude remind one of the stabbing Gaul; and the contrast between this Gaul's intense vitality and the drooping weight of his dead wife again reminds one of a sculpture well known to all who know Florence—the *Menelaus and Patroclus* (in the Loggia of Orcagna)—which is probably an ancient copy of some Pergamene work.¹ Other sculptures of possibly Pergamene origin are the well-known *Wrestlers* and the *Knife-whetter* of the Tribune (Uffizi). The great altar and its platform, already described, were built by Eumenes (197–157), the son and successor of the first Attalus. The subject of the frieze is the Battle of the Giants against the Gods. In the relics of these sculptures, which are to be seen at Berlin, the huge contorted figures of the Olympian deities, who are accompanied by numerous non-Hellenic deities and demigods and by their special animals, form together with their titanic adversaries writhing entanglements of legs and arms and wings and heads, and seem to prove that, however impressive these reliefs may have been for their wonderful technique and their size and the violent action that they expressed, they must have been almost as repellent as is the monstrous *Gigantomachia* by Giulio Romano in the Mantuan Palazzo del Te.² In connexion with Pergamon we may here notice the *Nike of Samothrace*—for the island is not very far from that part of Asia Minor (the Troad, Mysia, and Lydia) which once formed the kingdom of Croesus and later the kingdom of the Attalidae. This magnificent Victory (now, alas! headless and armless) is one of the glories of the Louvre, where she stands with outspread wings and wind-blown drapery on what was the marble prow of a warship. Once the great statue, with high uplifted trumpet, crowned some rocky height of Samothrace, where it was found.³ It was erected by Demetrius Poliorcetes as a trophy after his

¹ *Pasquino*, at Rome, is probably a portion (scarce recognizable) of another such copy.

² Some modern experts (mostly German) extol the grandeur and the 'unity of design amidst violent movement,' etc., shown by the Berlin fragments. They were excavated about 1880 by Karl Humann.

³ In 1863. A coin of Demetrius shows the figure blowing a trumpet.

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naval victory, near Cyprus, over Ptolemy II of Egypt (306 B.C.).

(b) **Rhodes** during the Hellenic age was famous for its painters and sculptors. Here the tendency toward the colossal, already noted in the school of Lysippus and at Pergamon, becomes very conspicuous. In the islands, Pliny assures us, there existed more than a hundred huge statues. Of these the hugest was the bronzen Colossus of the Sun-god—one of the Seven Wonders—made by the Rhodian sculptor Chares, a follower of Lysippus. It is said to have been 105 feet high, and to have been overthrown by an earthquake in 224, after about fifty years of existence.

A very fine and famous work of the Rhodian school is the *Laocoon*. Pliny names its makers 'in collaboration' (*ex consilii sententia*) Agesander, Athenodorus, and Polydorus—all of Rhodes. He saw it in the palace of Titus at Rome, and from his description it was at once recognized by the architect San Gallo and by Michelangelo when unearthed on the Esquiline, near the relics of the Baths of Titus, in the days of Pope Julius II (1506). It is generally believed to date from early Hellenistic times; but the artists' names occur in inscriptions apparently belonging to the *first* century B.C., and Lessing (whose *Laokoon* was once almost as famous as the sculpture itself) even opined that it was made at Rome by these Rhodian sculptors in the age of Titus (say, A.D. 60). Winckelmann, however, a far better judge, dated it (as did Pliny) shortly after Alexander's death. Michelangelo modestly refused to restore it. Laocoon's right arm, which critics say should be more bent, so as to form a pyramidal group, was made by Montorsoli, and the arms of the sons are by Cornachini.¹

Also at Tralles, near Rhodes, on the Carian mainland,

¹ The fully stretched arm, if artistically false, is surely natural in such circumstances. Lessing's *Laokoon* states and illustrates very strikingly the fact—known instinctively by all true artists—that in statuary, even more than in pictures, emotion and energy should be represented in momentary restraint and equipoise, whereas in poetry the very unrestraint of passion and movement may produce splendid effects. He contrasts the grand, silent resistance of the sculptured Laocoon (his 'torture dignifying pain,' as Byron says) with the terrible yells uttered by the ill-fated priest in Virgil's fine description of the same scene—a description that Lessing thought might have *preceded* the making of the group!



96. SOPHOCLES

See p. 116

Rome, Lateran Museum

Photo Anderson



97. THE SLEEPING ARIADNE OF THE VATICAN
 And sarcophagus with relief of earth-born giants assaulting the gods
 Photo Alinari

THE HELLENISTIC ERA

there was a school of Hellenistic artists, two of whom, Apollonius and Tauriscus, were the sculptors of the huge group (in the Naples Museum), much restored in the sixteenth century, known as the *Farnese Bull*, which represents the Zeus-begotten youths Amphion and Zethus mastering a wild bull in order to bind to it the new Queen of Thebes, Dirce, while their mother Antiope looks on with a smile of satisfaction at the agony of her rival.

Attributed to the Rhodian school are also, for what reasons it is not clear, a very powerfully designed relief of a *Sleeping Fury* (National Museum, Rome), and the popular, beautifully draped, graceful, but somewhat theatrically posed *Sleeping Ariadne* of the Vatican—sometimes wrongly called *Cleopatra* because of her snake-bracelet.

Besides this Michelangelesque display of mastery over material we find in Eastern Hellenistic art, in lieu of religious motives, a tendency toward portraiture, and personification of Wealth, Peace, War, Fortune, and of countries, cities, rivers, and so on. Thus, on the small but most interesting *Arbela Tablet*¹ Europe and Asia are personified by graceful figures; but the finest example of such sculptures (evidently dating from the era of the Seleucidae, kings of Syria) is a very beautiful female statue, of which a small copy is in the Vatican, representing the *Fortune* [Τύχη] of the City of *Antioch*. She wears a mural crown and is seated on a rock, and her foot rests on the shoulder of a youth who has the attitude of a swimmer—the personification of the river Orontes, on which the city lay.

(c) **Alexandria**, founded in 332 by Alexander the Great, became under the Ptolemies a city of over 700,000 inhabitants² and was for a considerable time the chief intellectual centre of the world—not great for original work, but a most important home of research and erudition, which it fostered by means of its two vast libraries, its museums,

¹ Commemorating the victory of Alexander over Darius III. I have given the tablet in my selection from Quintus Curtius (Blackie and Son). The difference is obvious between such, often frigid, personification and the ancient poetic symbolism—e.g., the bulls, bees, owls, tutelary deities, etc., found on coins.

² It remained one of the great emporiums of the Roman Empire, but after the bloody discords of early Christian times and the Arab conquest dwindled down to 6000 inhabitants. It has now about 500,000.

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and the regal patronage of its rulers. Alexandrine learning and the products of Alexandrian artistic industries, such as textiles, jewellery, cameos, gold and silver work, glass, papyri, mosaics, etc., exercised a strong influence on that Roman civilization that was spreading over the known world. Some of the buildings erected by the Ptolemies—such as various great temples on the island of Philae and the very fine temple at Edfu—have been mentioned in the chapter on Egypt. To these may be added the Serapeum (temple of Osiris-Apis) at Memphis, the museums and libraries in Alexandria, and the celebrated lighthouse, some 150 feet high, built on the island of Pharos,¹ which was joined to the city by a mole over a mile long and 600 feet wide (now much wider). The Memphis Serapeum was (as probably most buildings erected by the Ptolemies) in ancient Egyptian style with an intermixture of Greek features. It had an avenue about a mile in length of 160 colossal sphinxes and a gallery adorned with the statues of the deities and great men of Greece and of Egypt.

Egyptian sculpture after the days of Alexander lost all its dignity and impressiveness and through a weak imitation of Greek models degenerated into affected prettiness and into vulgarity. But in Alexandria a school of Hellenistic art arose which had fine characteristics and influenced strongly other schools, particularly that of Hellenistic sculpture and painting and mosaic in Italy (Rome, Naples, Pompeii, etc.). The extant specimens of Alexandrian sculpture show a self-restraint very different from the strenuousness and hugeness of most Pergamene and Rhodian work, but its attempts to attain the ideals of classic Greek sculpture seldom outsoar serenity and dignity—visible in the recumbent statue of Father Nile (Vatican), comically crawled over by sixteen tiny water-babies that are said to symbolize the sixteen cubits of yearly inundation, and still more visible in the so-called *Flora Farnese* at Naples, a very gracious and noble figure. Among the numerous so-called

¹ Hence the French and Italian words for a lighthouse (*phare* and *faro*). The building of the lighthouse and mole (by which were formed two fine harbours) was due to Alexander. On Pharos, says the legend, the seventy scholars were confined in order to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek (Septuagint).



98. FATHER NILE
Alexandrian sculpture

Vatican

Photo Brogi



99. FORTUNA

Found at Ostia. Head adventitious. Roman imitation of Greek original? See p. 169

Vatican

Photo Brogi

GREEK PAINTING

Alexandrian statues in museums are a fine bust of Homer (one specimen at Naples), the bronze *Dancing Faun* (found at Pompeii and now at Naples), the *Boy and the Goose* (Vatican), and a not very attractive or dignified bust of Oceanus (Vatican). Besides these are to be found many products of what may be called the Alexandrian *genre* sculptors—busts and statues and statuettes of a somewhat ordinary naturalistic type, so much in favour in native Egyptian art, representing workpeople, journeymen, musicians, fishers, etc., etc. Lastly, among specimens of nobler Alexandrian sculpture may be classed certain *pictorial reliefs*, which were evidently used for the internal decoration of houses. In the Palazzo Spada (Rome) and in the Capitoline Museum there are several of such reliefs, of which the *Bellerophon* and the *Perseus and Andromeda* are especially fine. A notable feature of these Alexandrian reliefs is their picturesque character—the perspective effects obtained by a diversity of planes to some extent anticipating works of the early Renaissance, such as Ghiberti's famous second Baptistery door.

NOTE ON GREEK PAINTING

In connexion with Alexandrian art the subject of painting begins to claim more notice.¹ I have already said something about Greek painting before Zeuxis. With him begins (c. 430) a new era of highly extolled, for the most part 'colonial,' painters. But here again we have no means of appreciation except by a number of frescos and mosaics of much later date, mostly discovered at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Rome; and it cannot be said that these, evidently very free, and sometimes commonplace, reproductions by house-decorators induce one to form a high estimate of the originals. It is of course impossible to conceive that an age and people capable of producing such incomparable master-works in sculpture and architecture could have admired, or even tolerated, inferior work in pictorial art; but seeing that no original, nor even any trustworthy copy

¹ Vase-painting is treated later as an essentially different subject.

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of an original, is known to us, the subject of Greek painting in the fifth and fourth centuries (about which old writers supply many names, many anecdotes, and many biographical details) is not one that enters largely into the scheme of this book. I shall therefore merely mention some of the most famous painters of this era and some of the supposed imitations of the works, and then pass on to the somewhat less obscure period of Alexandrian paintings and mosaics.

The subjects are given in old authors of several famous pictures by Zeuxis (the *Helen*, the *Family of Centaurs*, the *Child carrying Grapes*,¹ etc.) and by Parrhasius (especially his *chef-d'œuvre*, the *Bacchus*) and by Timanthes (the *Iphigenia*, and the *Ajax and Odysseus*, which they say wrested the prize from Parrhasius) and by Apelles (the celebrated *Aphrodite rising from the Sea*—bought, it is said, by Augustus from the people of Cos—the portrait of *Alexander wielding a Thunderbolt*, and the *Calumny*, which has been made still more famous by Botticelli's attempt to repaint the scene, as described by Lucian). But, as will be seen from the list given below, none of the Alexandrian or Roman replicas or imitations of old Greek paintings is thought to be a work of any such pre-eminent artist.

We have already noted that after its submission to Macedonian supremacy Greece seems to have ceased its wondrous production of supreme artists; anyhow, almost all the great painters of this era were 'colonials'—not natives of the motherland. One hears indeed of Aristides of Thebes, an artist who evidently adopted the pathetic line, for his *chefs-d'œuvre* were a *Dying Mother* and a *Sick Woman*, the

¹ So deceptively real that the birds picked at them—whereat Zeuxis was vexed because the birds were not afraid of the child! Such stories of course do not prove that these famous Greek painters were nothing but consummate 'realists,' and that Plato had good reason to banish painting from his model republic as being 'twice removed from true existence.' His criticism, by the way, applies to all imitation of natural objects, seeing that these are themselves imitations of their heavenly Ideas—even dirt itself, according to Socrates, having a celestial prototype—so he would condemn the grandest work of Apelles no less than the productions of βωπογράφοι or βυπαρογράφοι ('dirt painters'), as those artists (Pliny says) were called who chose 'petty' subjects such as 'barber-girls, seamstresses, donkeys, game and fruit [*opsonia*] and the like.' Xenophon (*Mem.* iii, 10) describes a colloquy between Socrates and Parrhasius on the possibility of indicating moral qualities in portraiture. Aristotle seems to deny this power to Zeuxis.



100. DEMETER (CERES)

Vatican

Photo Brogi

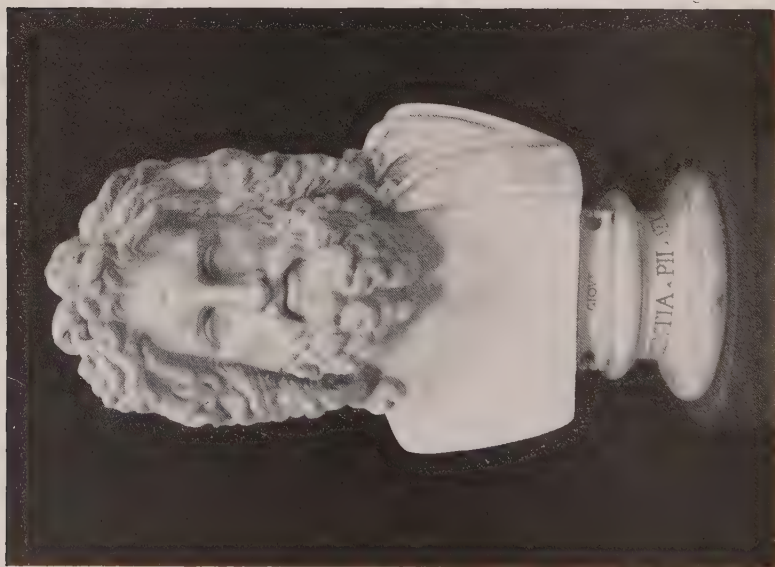


101. THE FARNESE FLORA

Probably from original by Praxiteles

Naples, Museo Nazionale

Photo Brogi



102. ZEUS (JUPITER)

Greek type of 4th cent. B.C. Found at Otricoli, Italy. See p. 115



103. ZEUS (JUPITER) SERAPIS

Alexandrian sculpture. See p. 22 n.

GREEK PAINTING

latter of which was bought by King Attalus for about £20,000. Also there was an Athenian painter, Nicias, for whose picture of the Homeric *Nekuia* (Visit of Odysseus to the Realm of the Dead) King Ptolemy is said to have vainly offered sixty talents, for the artist presented it to his own country. There was, moreover, a school of painting at Sicyon to which belonged Eupompus and his pupil Pamphilus, who was probably a teacher of Apelles. But none of these is comparable in fame to Zeuxis of Heraclea (whether the Bithynian or the Italian is uncertain), or to Parrhasius, or Timanthes, or Apelles, all of whom were natives of Asia Minor, as was Protogenes the Carian, famed as painter and sculptor and writer, and probably also Aetion, a follower of Apelles, whose *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* (or rather Lucian's description of it) inspired the great but rarely-seen fresco painted some 1800 years later by Sodoma in the Villa Farnesina at Rome.

Pamphilus of Sicyon, whom I have mentioned above, is said to have been a celebrated *teacher* of painting (especially perhaps of the wax, or encaustic, method) and a founder of many schools of art. As is wont to happen in periods of decadence, the art of painting in the Hellenistic age seems to have become largely a matter of schools and clever technical accomplishment, and this naturally favoured the professional critic and expert and art-dealer and art-collector. The Pinacotheca which was created at Athens in the days of Polygnotus—perhaps even before the Parthenon was finished—was probably a treasure-house of votive pictures (such as existed doubtless also at Delphi and Olympia) rather than what we call a picture gallery, but the Pinacothecae of Pergamon and Alexandria were evidently, like ours, public collections of paintings considered valuable by the expert and the picture-dealer, and useful to the art-student and the copyist, in the same way as the vast libraries (Bibliothecae) in these two cities fostered that erudition and research and reverence for the past to which we owe the preservation of so many of the incomparable works of the ancient Greek writers, but which seem to have extinguished almost totally the spirit to which such literature owes its existence.

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ALEXANDRIAN PAINTING

About a century before the Christian era, as we have noted in the chapter on Egyptian art, the ancient method of covering the face of a mummy with a mask-like (often startlingly realistic) effigy made of painted wood or plaster, or carton, with eyes of coloured stone and crystal and with gilt ornamentation, began to be superseded by an inserted panel bearing the portrait of the deceased depicted in *tempera* or by the encaustic wax process. The early use in the Hellenic world of a medium of melted wax has been already noted (p. 99). It was doubtless introduced into Egypt by the Greeks, who had begun to settle there long before the days of Alexander the Great and had already exercised very considerable influence on Egyptian art. These encaustic mummy portraits, of which there are specimens in numerous museums (found mostly in the cemeteries of the Fayûm in Egypt), are sometimes scarcely less admirable than the best work of the Italian Cinquecento.

But at Alexandria now (say *c.* 50 B.C.) arose a new school of painters, most of them doubtless Grecians, whose productions found great favour in the Hellenic world and helped 'captive Greece to conquer her savage victor and to introduce the arts into rustic Latium.'¹ And it was in Latium and in the neighbouring Campania—at Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum—that during the last two centuries those very numerous works of Alexandrian artists, or their Italian imitators, were discovered which are almost the only surviving specimens of ancient classical painting, and are—some of them—supposed to be copies, or anyhow free reproductions of the motives, of still more ancient works of the great Greek painters.

That many of such paintings should have been found in Italy is chiefly due to the fact that specialities of Alexandrian artists were mythological scenes with landscape and subsidiary figures, well adapted for the internal decoration of the villas of rich Romans, either as wall-paintings, or

¹ Hor. *Ep.* II, i, 156. Of course South Italy had long been a home of Greek art, especially that of vase-painting.



104. IO AND ARGUS

Copy of a Greek painting. Found in the 'House of Livia,' Palatine, Rome

Photo Alinari



105. BANQUET SCENE
Wall-painting from Herculaneum
Naples, Museo Nazionale
Photo, Borea



106. WALL-PAINTINGS FROM THE HOUSE OF THE
VETTI, POMPEII
Photo Alinari

ALEXANDRIAN PAINTING

inserted panels, or detached pictures.¹ Almost all that have survived are, as we should expect, wall-paintings. Some, although merely decorative, are very beautiful and imaginative (scenes where charming little Cupids and Psyches and sylphs and centaurs sport), reminding one by their grace and harmonies of Raphaelesque *grotesche*—which were indeed imitated mainly from the now vanished decorations of the Baths of Titus.² Others make claim to be works of art of a higher grade and depict Greek mythological subjects, or sometimes *genre* or idyllic scenes.

POSSIBLE COPIES, OR IMITATIONS, OF ANCIENT GREEK PAINTINGS

(1) *Five marble panels* (Naples), found at Herculaneum: outlines only, the colours having vanished: *A Battle of Centaurs*, *Quadrigae in Battle*, etc. One representing Leto and Niobe and (below) girls playing knuckle-bones bears the name 'Alexandros the Athenian'—perhaps a contemporary of Zeuxis (fifth century).

(2) *The Young Achilles discovered by Odysseus* (Naples), found at Pompeii: said to be a reproduction of a picture by Aetion, the pupil of Apelles who painted the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* (p. 129).

(3) The *Aldobrandini Nuptials*, found on the Esquiline in 1606, formerly belonging to Cardinal Aldobrandini and now in the Vatican Library, is probably an Italian, or Alexandrian, reproduction of some Greek painting of the fourth century. It depicts a bride taking leave of her old home. As it is well preserved, it is a pity that it is not more impressive or attractive. The composition is sculpturesque rather than pictorial, reminding one of a pediment or frieze.

(4) In the Vatican Library are also wall-paintings of mythological subjects, and landscapes with small figures, probably by Alexandrian artists. Four of these, found on the Esquiline in 1840, depict scenes from the *Odyssey*. They are believed to date from nearly the beginning of the first century B.C.

(5) In the so-called 'House of Livia' on the Palatine are to be seen very fine wall-paintings, some of them evidently meant to give the illusion of great open windows allowing views (as in the case of the scenes from the *Odyssey*). One of the finest represents Io guarded by Argus, with Hermes approaching in order to liberate her. It is believed to be a reproduction of a work by Nicias of Athens (c. 300 B.C.), whose *Visit of Odysseus to the Realm of the Dead* has been already mentioned (p. 129).

¹ The *fresco* method (painting on plaster still fresh and damp) was first generally employed in the Augustan age. Till then the *tempera* process (colours mixed with water, or gum, or white of egg) or the encaustic (melted wax) had been almost universal even in wall-painting.

² *Grotte* (crypts, caves) was used to indicate underground cavities in ruins where in the Renaissance era many ancient frescos still existed; hence these paintings were called *grotesche*—whence the word *grotesque*.

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(6) Among the very numerous paintings found at Pompeii and Herculaneum (many now in the Neapolitan National Museum) deserve special notice *Theseus and the Minotaur*, *Europa*, *A Banquet Scene*, *Theseus and Ariadne*, and *Achilles and Briseis*. The 'House of the Vettii' at Pompeii (excavated in 1895) was found to be especially richly decorated, and some of its pictures evidently reproduce the motives of the old Greek paintings—e.g., *The Infant Hercules*, *Dirce and Amphion* (the motive of the *Farnese Bull*), *Daedalus*, *Orestes at Delphi*, etc. At Boscoreale, not far from Pompeii, a great treasure of ninety-four silver cups, etc., was unearthed in 1895, and five years later about seventy wall-paintings, including one particularly graceful and modern-looking *genre* picture (now in America) representing a lady playing on a kind of harp.

In connexion with these wall-paintings should be mentioned Hellenistic mosaics, many fine specimens of which have been discovered in Italy. It will be remembered that mosaic-work was practised by the Egyptians and learnt probably from them by the Assyrians and Asiatic Hellenes. At Pergamon there seems to have arisen in the third century B.C. a famous school of mosaic, and it is believed that the very beautiful and very well known *Doves of the Capitol* (four doves perched on the rim of a bowl) is an Alexandrian copy of a mosaic by Sosos, who is said to have been the founder of this Pergamene school. The *Doves* was discovered in the vast Villa of Hadrian near Tivoli, as were also other fine mosaics.¹ Not far from Tivoli is Palestrina (Praeneste), where a most magnificent pavement mosaic (20 by 16 feet) was discovered, evidently of Alexandrian design, for it represents an Egyptian scene—an inundation of the Nile. Lastly, among the numerous mosaics of Pompeii is one (now at Naples) which is believed to be a reproduction by an Alexandrian artist of a Greek picture painted perhaps for Alexander the Great, either by Philoxenos or by Helena, daughter of the painter Timon. It represents the battle of Issus, in which Darius III was utterly defeated by Alexander. The composition of the work is almost comparable with that of Raphael's *Battle at the Milvian Bridge*.

NOTE ON CLASSIC GREEK VASES ²

'Aegaeon,' Mycenaean, Cretan, 'Dipylon,' Phaleron, old Corinthian, and other pottery has been described in earlier chapters, and early Etruscan ware, black *bucchero* and other, must be deferred till we reach Italy. Here we have to deal with an era of about six centuries during which in Greece

¹ The *Doves* formed probably part of a celebrated mosaic by Sosos representing an unswept floor, on which the relics of a banquet were depicted. Roman mosaic pavements are innumerable and found in many lands. To be noted here is the famous *opus Alexandrinum*—a mosaic used later frequently for the beautiful pavements of Christian basilicas. It is composed of fragments of marble, porphyry, serpentine, and other coloured stones set in geometric patterns.

² In *Ancient Greece* are given photographs (coloured and other) of about thirty-five archaic and classic vases. See in present volume Figs. 33, 37, 41, 42, 49, 50.



107. THE MOSAIC OF THE DOVES
Capitoline Museum
 Photo Brogi



108. ALEXANDER AND DARIUS AT THE BATTLE OF ISSUS
 Mosaic found at Pompeii
Naples, Museo Nazionale
 Photo Brogi



109. PART OF THE GREAT PALESTRINA MOSAIC
A Nile scene

Photo: Brogi

CLASSIC GREEK VASES

the ceramic art, in regard both to the form and to the decoration of vases, attained and long retained a beauty so exquisite that it seems to 'quiet all our longings,' as did for Dante Casella's music.¹

Strangely enough, by far the greater number of the almost innumerable extant Greek vases were discovered, not in Greece, but in Italy. From the latter half of the eighteenth century onward many thousands have been unearthed at Vulci and Chiusi (Clusium, the city of Lars Porsena) and at Nola in Campania and elsewhere. In 1767 great quantities of these so-called 'Etruscan vases' were brought to England by Sir W. Hamilton and formed the nucleus of the splendid collection in the British Museum. It was not till about 1850 that the 'Etruscan' theory—advocated strenuously by almost all the archæologists of the day, though opposed by the great Winckelmann—was overthrown by indubitable proofs that most of the older vases found in Etruscan tombs, and elsewhere on sites of ancient Italian towns, were either actually made in Greece (especially Attica) or are—even when they bear Etruscan inscriptions—the work of Greek craftsmen in Italy, or close imitations of Attic work, while the less ancient specimens came from Magna Graecia (South Italy), where, as we shall see, there was a large output of big vases, richly decorated in the so-called 'new' or 'beautiful' Greek style, after the ceramic art had become almost extinct in the motherland (c. 250 B.C.).

A reason why so many more Greek vases have been discovered in Italy than in Greece itself is that the cities where they were found, such as Vulci, once five miles in circumference, and Chiusi, once one of the chief of the twelve Etruscan cities and the residence of a powerful king, after their conquest by the Romans became depopulated and malarious, and their great rock-tombs and cemeteries were forgotten, as was the case with ancient Mycenae, whereas Greece was subjected to centuries of pillage and devastation. But this does not explain why such great numbers of splendid Greek vases ever got to Etruria, and that too as early as the fifth, and even the sixth, century. The reason for this must have been that the Etruscans or Tyrrhenes (Tyrseni)

¹ *Purg.* ii, 108.

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were, as we shall see in the next chapter, a very adventurous, rich, powerful, and art-loving nation.

The long era of classic Greek vase-painting may be divided into three periods, [not sharply sundered chronologically, but distinguished by very different styles. These periods are :

- (1) That of the 'black-figure' style (c. 700-490).
- (2) That of the 'red-figure' style (c. 490-350).
- (3) That of the 'new' or 'beautiful' style, which developed into the too richly ornate style of South Italy.

In the vases of the first period the male figures are black silhouettes on the red earthenware background, and details are given by lines incised in the black pigment, which when thick assumes a purplish or greenish tint, and when thin allows the background to produce a reddish brown effect. The nude of the female figures is of a chalky white (as in some old Egyptian paintings). The black silhouette does not permit the wonderful delicacy and beauty in outline and detail which we find in red-figure work, but these earlier vases with their naïve and realistic pictures, often arranged in several zones, are perhaps more interesting and instructive than the more artistic and more idealized (sometimes more generalized and conventionalized) paintings of the second period.¹

A fairly distinct demarcation between periods (1) and (2) is supplied by the fact that all the vases *except one* found in the Marathon tomb (490 B.C.) are black-figured, whereas most of the shards excavated on the Acropolis—relics of the sack of Athens by Xerxes after Salamis (480 B.C.)—are red-figured. But it is necessary to remember that for sepulchral offerings, religious ceremonies, prizes at festivals, etc., the old type of vase was preferred, so that the red-figure style may have been in full vogue before 490. The transition was evidently very gradual. A vase at Palermo, signed by Androkides, shows on one side black figures and on the other red.

¹ One of the earliest black-figure specimens (Fig. 49) is the *crater* in the Florentine Archaeological Museum called (after its discoverer) the *François Vase*, found at Chiusi. (See also Fig. 50.) Details are given in *Ancient Greece*, where see also the Greek-Egyptian jar, found at Daphnae, and pp. 204, 218.



110. WALL-PAINTINGS FROM THE 'HOUSE OF THE VETTI,' POMPEII



III. RED-FIGURED VASES AND WHITE LEKYTHI

c. 520-350

Photo Mansell

GREEK COINS

In vases of the second period the figures are of the natural red colour of the baked clay and are blocked out against a background of black pigment, the contours being softened by delicate incised lines, while details on the red surface are filled in with lighter shades of black. The best vase-paintings in this style show very great beauty and dignity in composition and exquisite skill in technique.¹

The exceedingly beautiful Athenian white *lekythi* (sepulchral oil-jars) seem to belong to this second period. The earlier specimens show very graceful and delicately outlined designs—white, red, and black—against a white background. (See coloured frontispiece in *Ancient Greece*.)

Toward the end of the fourth century the simplicity, dignity, and classic repose of Greek vase-painting began to degenerate into ornate magnificence, prettiness, and dramatic affectation. This so-called 'new and beautiful' style was transported to South Italy and flourished luxuriantly, while in Greece all vase-painting rapidly withered away. In Apulia, Lucania, and Campania immense quantities of large vases splendidly decorated with paintings and mouldings and volute handles were fabricated, not for use but for the adornment of the palaces and villas of Roman plutocrats. But in spite of their magnificence these vases are of no great value artistically, the paintings being usually fantastic or meaningless in conception, weak in composition, overcrowded with figures, and encumbered with very superfluous architectural designs and with details often of a trivial nature.

NOTE ON GREEK COINS ²

Although coins, like cameos, embossed work, ivories, etc.—and indeed also vases—are often rightly classed among those 'minor arts' which I do not undertake to describe in this volume, many Hellenic coins are of such wondrous beauty that they may claim, as may Greek vases, to be treated with

¹ Various specimens are given in *Ancient Greece*. For the *hydria* (water-jar) signed with the name 'Meidias' see Fig. 112. This vase Winckelmann esteemed 'above all others known to him' for beauty.

² In *Ancient Greece* illustrations of ninety ancient coins are given, including the earliest known (Lydian), of about 700 B.C.

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almost as much respect as Greek statues. Coins, it is believed, were first made in Lydia, where the Mermnadae kings began, *c.* 700 B.C., to punch ingots of *electron* (a mixture of gold and silver) with official marks as an assurance of full weight. The Asiatic Greeks soon adopted the invention and used dies, stamping the obverse of the (often bean-shaped) coin with the badges of their cities—animals, tutelary deities, or other symbols. Numerous coins of this nature are still extant. King Croesus probably first used (*c.* 560) gold and silver coins (*staters*) instead of *electron*, and Darius I, *c.* 500, issued gold *darics*, with his effigy, and silver *sigloi* (shekels). But long before the time of Darius coins had been struck in Greece—the first probably on the island of Aegina (*c.* 650) by Pheidon, the famous Argive king, who seems also to have introduced standard weights and measures.¹ Coins of the seventh and sixth centuries are also extant issued by Corinth, Thebes, Corcyra, Athens (in the days of Solon?), as well as by Crete and Sicily, and by cities of Magna Graecia, such as Taras (Tarentum), Poseidonia (Paestum), Sybaris, Croton, Elea, etc.

In the period 500–400 the art of engraving dies attained very high excellence. The Syracusan coins, notably those of Gelo's reign, show exquisite designs, and a wondrous perfection of technique. Especially remarkable are those with the head of the nymph Arethusa (surrounded by dolphins) and, on the reverse, a chariot and a winged Victory—motives repeated in the justly celebrated *demareteia*. These splendid coins (of silver captured from the Carthaginians) were stamped by Gelo after the great victory of Himera. On these coins the Arethusa head is replaced by one of Nike (Victory) which is probably a portrait of Gelo's wife, Demarete.

It is noticeable that in comparison with these beautiful Sicilian coins, and with others not less beautiful of South Italian towns, such as Thurii, Terina, and Naples, and with those of motherland cities such as Elis,² the Athenian coins of this century retained old and quaint types of owl and Athene

¹ An Aegina coin of this period shows a sea-tortoise. It is probably the oldest extant Greek coin.

² The Nike (Victory) of a coin of Elis of this era—a seated, winged figure—was adopted for the medal commemorating Waterloo.



112. HYDRIA SIGNED WITH THE NAME MEIDIAS

A most beautiful red-figured vase. c. 430

British Museum

Photo Mansell



113. GREEK COINS

c. 480-300 B.C.

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1. Hera (Elis). 2. Nike (?) (Terina). 3. Zeus (Elis). 4. Demareteion (Syracuse).
 5. Hera (Argos). 6. Demeter (Messene). 7. Dido, or Astarte (?) (Carthage).
 8. Alexander the Great. 9. Sun-god (copied from the Colossus of Rhodes?)

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head. This seems due to the fact that the Athenian coinage had so great a circulation and so high a reputation for weight and purity that it was thought better not to alter the old types. During the age of Praxiteles and Scopas—that is, during the Spartan and Theban supremacies (400–338)—and in the days of Alexander the Great numismatic art attained great beauty and nobility also in the homeland. The long Peloponnesian War had ended (404) in the collapse of the Athenian Empire and the establishment, for some thirty years, of Spartan supremacy. The Spartans (who still possessed only clumsy iron money—of which no specimen remains) had to make use of the fine currencies of Elis, Corinth, Argos,¹ Thebes, and Athens, while for dealings with the Persians and the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor they used especially the electron stater of Cyzicus, which for many years had been largely circulated in trans-Aegean regions. Cyzicus (on the Propontis) was an early colony of Ionian Miletus, whose mother-city was Athens, and this electron stater bore the effigy of Cecrops, the mythical, half-serpentine first king of Attica, and showed as its mint-mark the tunny-fish, a great staple of Euxine trade.

When the Theban supremacy arose, after the victories of Epameinondas and the founding of Messene (369), exceedingly fine Arcadian and Messenian coins were struck, among which one with a Demeter head is especially noticeable.

During the marvellous expansion of Syracusan power in Sicily and Magna Graecia that took place under the tyranny of Dionysius I and the rule of the heroic Timoleon, many beautiful coins were struck in Western Hellas; and even down to the capture of Syracuse by the Romans in the next century Sicilian coinage held a high level. Carthage too, the great Phoenician foe of Hellenic Sicily, began about 400 B.C. to issue coinage of which there are fine specimens extant, some showing lions and date-palms, others with the famous legendary horse's head, and others with the head of a very handsome woman (Dido or Astarte ?) bearing a Phrygian-like cap.

The Macedonian coinage was remarkable even before the days of Alexander the Great. His father, Philip of

¹ With a very beautiful Hera head believed to be copied from the celebrated statue of the goddess by Polycleitus.

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Macedon, worked with great success his Thracian gold-mines near the new-named city of Philippi and issued great quantities of gold *philippi*—that 'royal coinage' with which, as Horace tells us, 'the man of Macedonia clave open city-gates and undermined his kingly rivals.' Before these golden 'philips' the coins current in Greece had been usually of silver, gold having been coined on special occasions, when treasure had to be melted down.¹

The usual type of Alexander's coins shows a Heracles head with lion-skin hood, the features of the demigod bearing a distinct likeness to those of the king as given in the various portrait busts above mentioned (p. 118). The reverse shows the eagle-bearing, enthroned Olympian Zeus of Pheidias. For two centuries after his death and deification Alexander's portrait under the guise of Heracles, or of the ram-horned Zeus Ammon whose son he had claimed to be, continued on coins; ² but his successors in Egypt and Syria and the Far East soon timidly mingled their features with those of the deified Heracles-Alexander, and finally introduced their own portraits *in propria persona*.³

¹ Perhaps gold darics and the gold staters of Croesus were to a small extent current in Greece in earlier times.

² The early Egyptian coins of Ptolemy and of other *Diadochi* who minted money as viceroys of Alexander's (and Roxana's) son show an elephant's scalp and tusks instead of the lion-skin hood.

³ The first examples of personal portraiture in Hellenic coinage. Portraits of Persian kings and satraps had long been common. Some of the coins of Alexander's successors in the Far East were exceedingly fine. There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a magnificent gold stater of Eucratidas, king of Bactria, near the Indus.

PART III

ROMAN ART

CHAPTER I

THE ETRUSCANS

ROMAN art drew very largely from Hellenistic sources for its great development toward the end of the Republic and under the Empire, but its original springhead was the art of the Etruscans—a race that for several centuries before the founding of Rome had been settled in Central Italy.

Whence and how these Etruscans came to Italy is uncertain. Some believe that even if, like many European peoples, they were of Oriental origin, they had long inhabited regions north of the Alps¹ and reached Italy through the Alpine passes, overran the plain of the Po, and then crossed into Umbria and Tuscany. But a study of their art inclines one to believe that the Etruscans, called *Τύρσηνοι* ('Tower-men'?) by the Greeks and Tyrrheni or Tusci or Etrusci by the Romans, were of that 'Aegaeon,' or 'Mediterranean,' race to which, as we have seen, belonged the primitive inhabitants of Greece and Crete. Perhaps the 'Tyrseni' were 'Pelasgians'—perhaps too they were those 'Tarusha' who, according to a very old Egyptian inscription, were among the 'Peoples of the Sea' whose invasion was foiled by Rameses III not long after the Exodus.² It seems at least certain that in very early times they were a 'People of the Sea.' In the Homeric hymn to Dionysus we hear of them as pirates, and the 'Tyrrhene Sea' was very early named after them. Hesiod (or his imitator, *c.* 700?) mentions them as Italians (he mentions King Latinus too!) and Pindar

¹ 'Rhaetia,' it is stated, may mean the land of the 'Rasena,' by which name the Etruscans called themselves.

² Among these were also perhaps the Philistines (Pulosathu).

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in his first Pythian Ode speaks of them as pirates, in connexion with the Carthaginians. Herodotus too tells us that they came to Italy from Lydia, and as he also informs us that 'Pelasgians' (who built the huge 'Pelasgic' wall of the Acropolis) migrated from Athens to Lemnos, not far from Lydia—where there certainly *was* a people called Tyrsenes whose inscriptions have a similarity to the Etruscan—for all these reasons, and moreover because the 'megalithic' walls common in Tuscany are much like the 'Cyclopean' or 'Pelasgian' buildings of the 'Aegean' age in Greece (*e.g.*, at Mycenae, Tiryns, etc.), and because the Etruscan weapons and tombs and sarcophagi are decidedly similar to those of the 'Aegean' race, and the very beautiful Etruscan work in bronze and gold and jewellery¹ has undoubtedly a resemblance to the products of 'Aegean' (*e.g.*, Mycenaean) civilization, and lastly because these Tyrseni brought with them to Italy a knowledge of the *arch* and the *vault*,² which was derived by the Lydians and Eastern 'Aegeans' from Babylonia—therefore it is very reasonable to conclude that they came, as Herodotus says, from Lydia, that they were of 'Aegean' or 'Pelasgic' race, and that they came by sea, and not through Alpine passes, and were a powerful nation of Central Italy before the foundation of Rome (or that of Padua by the mythical Antenor!).

As a great 'People of the Sea' the Etruscans, allied with the Carthaginians, opposed the maritime power of Magna Graecia and Hellenic Sicily and defeated the Greeks in a great naval battle near Corsica about 537. By this time the Confederation of the Twelve Etruscan Cities had extended its domination almost from the Alps to Naples, and the story of the Tarquins (although, like that of the Gauls, manipulated skilfully by Roman historians) seems to indicate that even the Romans were under Etruscan supremacy for at least a century, and that Lars Porsena actually took Rome.

But it seems likely that in some great battle, near Lake

¹ There are exquisite specimens in the Florentine Museo Etrusco. Sceptics label many as 'imported' (like 'Etruscan vases'), but the Etruscans anyhow showed their 'Aegean' art-instincts by importing such things; and it is said (by Peyre) that Etruscan work of this kind was 'sought at Athens even in the age of Pericles.'

² It is also noticeable that the Ionic order was used by the Etruscans *before* the introduction of the Doric from Magna Graecia.

THE ETRUSCANS

Regillus or elsewhere, the Romans (c. 496) overthrew their powerful foe, and some twenty years later Hiero, the great Hellenic king of Syracuse, did certainly inflict on the Tyrrhene armies a crushing defeat near Cumae—the Greek Cyme, not far from Naples.¹ Yet it seems certain that, bitter as was the enmity between these peoples, the civilization and art of Etruria and many religious rites were soon accepted in Latium, and when the Etruscans, violently assaulted also on the north by Gauls and Ligurians, gave way before the mightily increasing power of Rome, and were finally, after the Samnite wars had ended in 290, subdued and absorbed politically by the Romans, Etruscan art continued to survive, and the Etruscan element in Roman society remained for many years distinguished for its pride of descent, its culture, wealth, and patronage of art.²

The early influence on the Etruscans of Hellenic art is evidenced by [the enormous number of Greek vases found in Etruscan cemeteries—some of them sixth- or fifth-century work imported from Attica. And to Magna Graecia and Sicily, in spite of continuous hostility, the Etruscans were indebted for their later so-called Tuscan order of architecture—a very poor imitation of Doric—as well as the Hellenistic Corinthian. As far as we can judge from scanty relics at Falerii and elsewhere, the Etruscan temple was (like the Phrygian or Ionian ?) adorned with statues, bas-reliefs, etc., in terra-cotta. Relics of this nature (in the Florentine Museum) have been found at Luni near Spezia.³

But long before the introduction of these imitations of Greek architecture the Etruscans, as has been already explained, constructed mighty megalithic ramparts and huge arched portals. The earliest constructions of this nature consist of irregular masses of rock fitted together (of course without cement), while the later are formed of fairly well-squared blocks in parallel strata. Remains of such ramparts

¹ In *Ancient Greece* a picture is given of an Etruscan iron helmet (now in the British Museum) on which an inscription tells us that it was 'Tyrrhenian spoil from Cyme' dedicated by Hiero to Zeus at Olympia.

² Maecenas, the great art-patron, was 'descended from ancestral kings' of Etruria. Etrurian nobles called themselves 'Lucumones' after the Etruscan name of Lucius Tarquin.

³ A reconstruction exists in the grounds of the Villa Giulia, Rome. Luni and Lunigiana recall the *Lunat portus* of Ennius—the 'moon-shaped bay' of Spezia.

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are to be seen at Fiesole, Cortona, Falerii, and other places, but Volterra possesses still its old Etruscan city walls, some four and a half miles long and in parts 40 feet high, with the massive arch of one city gate, adorned with three sculptured heads—whether human or Gorgonian is doubtful (Fig. 118).

The vault,¹ which we have met with in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian buildings and also in 'Aegean' (as in the vaulted tombs at Mycenae), was used also by the people of Western Asia Minor, but was practically unknown to Greek art until the Oriental Hellenistic era. It was by the Etruscans that the vault and the great semicircular arch were imported from the East direct into Italy, and, from the days of the Cloaca Maxima onward, they became marked features of Roman architecture.

Etruscan tombs are of two kinds. At Chiusi, Tarquinii, Cervetri (Caere), and elsewhere are remains of large circular edifices surmounted by a cone-shaped construction within which is a domed chamber. The so-called 'Tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii' near Albano, which modern scepticism has relegated to late Republican, or even Imperial times, may very possibly be a restoration of an Etruscan tomb—possibly even the tomb of Aruns Tarquinius, as once believed. It has a massive square basement and was surmounted by four cone-shaped erections. A somewhat similar ruin, called Porsena's tomb, is to be seen near Vulci. The other tombs are sometimes somewhat like the Mycenaean 'shaft-graves,' but are usually very similar (except in size) to the ancient hypogea of Egypt and Asia Minor—excavations in the sides of hills, with external façades or portals, galleries, chambers, coloured bas-reliefs, and wall-paintings. In the rock-tombs near Chiusi, Cervetri, and elsewhere have been found not only many fine vases and other funerary offerings, but great numbers of sarcophagi and cinerary receptacles—for both interment and cremation were practised.²

¹ Primitive vaulting was effected by courses of stone or brick slightly projecting (corbelled) one above the other. In Roman architecture we find arch-vaulting (barrel-vaulting), then intersecting, and then cupolas and domes of one solid mass—sometimes monoliths, as in Theoderic's Mausoleum.

² At Cervetri is a rock-tomb called *La Tomba dei Tarquinii* in which the name 'Tarchnas,' the Etruscan form of Tarquinius, has been discovered. See photo in *Republican Rome* (Harrap), p. 20. Especially rich in sarcophagi and cinerary 'huts,' etc., are the museums of Corneto (Tarquinii), Chiusi, Volterra, and Florence.



114. ETRUSCAN SARCOPHAGUS

Volterra

Photo Brogi



115. L'ARINGATORE (THE ORATOR)

Florence, Museo Archeologico

Photo F. Bruckmann

THE ETRUSCANS

Etruscan sarcophagi have often on their lid a recumbent terra-cotta or stone figure of the deceased, usually painfully ugly and foreshortened—doubtless generally the work of some local workman. The reliefs on the sides are sometimes of far better design and apparently the work of more experienced artists who prepared ready-made sarcophagi for sale and who used traditional *motifs*, such as those connected with the ancient legend of Pelops, nigh whose realm (Phrygia) the Etruscans probably lived originally. In our illustration (as explained in *Republican Rome*, p. xii) this old legend seems to be alluded to, but the main subject is the starting of the deceased for the Lower World, attended by a Death-angel (on horseback) and men carrying provisions for the journey.

The cinerary receptacle is sometimes a box like a diminutive sarcophagus with reliefs and superincumbent figure, sometimes an urn, sometimes a small model of a hut or house—perhaps meant as a dwelling for the spirit not yet ready for its long journey.

Tradition affirms that under the Tarquins at Rome Etruscan artists made terra-cotta statues, and even *quadrigae*, for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; but of genuine Etruscan sculpture (besides sepulchral figures) only a few specimens are extant, of which perhaps the most ancient is a small bronze group representing a ploughman with a very Hesiodic-looking, primitive plough, drawn by two oxen (see illustration in *Republican Rome*). Then there is the very famous *Wolf of the Capitol* (Fig. 116), which tradition asserts to have been set up by the aedile Ogulnius in 296 B.C.; but it may have been already a couple of centuries old and seems to be of Etruscan workmanship.¹ Also a bronze statue of Mars in the Vatican may have belonged to a Mars temple (of which relics possibly exist) at Todi in Umbria and certainly, except for the helm—which may possibly be Phrygian—shows no Hellenic influence. This influence is, however, very visible in various so-called Etruscan sculptures, such as the fine statue of an orator (*L'Ar[r]ingatore*)

¹ The twins are Cinquecento work and Michelangelesque in style. As to whether this is the bronze wolf mentioned by Cicero as having been struck by lightning—traces of which are perhaps still visible—see my note in *Republican Rome*, p. ix.

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in the Florentine Museum.¹ There are moreover sculptures of actual Greek work that have been found amongst Etruscan relics, such as the most attractive and masterly bronze *Head of a Youth* (Florence, Etr. Mus.), which may however be genuine Etruscan,² and the beautiful bronze of *Sleep* (British Museum) mentioned on p. 115, and the strange *Chimaera* (Florence, Etr. Mus.), which, although found at Arezzo, is now believed to be an ancient Corinthian bronze.

The character of genuine Etruscan sculpture and painting is sometimes said to denote 'a conflict of Italic naturalism with Greek idealism—to the disadvantage of originality' (Natali and Vitelli). We are told that Etruscan sculptures 'lack inspiration because they are founded on a too conscientious and exclusive naturalism' (Carotti). On the other hand such 'naturalism' as the Etruscan, though of course it had its very obvious dangers, was surely a sign of vitality, being due to that loving familiarity with natural objects which one finds attractive even in the elementary drawings of prehistoric cave-dwellers, and which in the case of Assyrian as well as that of 'Aegean' art is very refreshing after a study of the conventional paintings and carvings of ancient Egypt. A comparison of the *Wolf of the Capitol* with the *Chimaera of Arezzo* (Figs. 116, 117) is perhaps not quite just, for, although the former is doubtless Etruscan and the latter Corinthian, we are comparing a successful with an unsuccessful work, seeing that the *Wolf* is as fine a bit of realism as the *Dying Lioness* of Assyria (Fig. 30), while the *Chimaera* verges on grotesqueness in imaginative symbolism and is not at all a fair example of the Greek spirit. But anyhow we may regard the *Wolf* as a precursor of the sturdy and attractive realism which we find in genuine Roman work,³ in the same way as one regards

¹ For its inscription proving it to be Etruscan work see *Republican Rome*, p. xiii.

² Not known where found. The 'white' of the eye is a solid part of the cast—a peculiarity found in another, perhaps Etruscan, bronze in the Louvre. Smaller Etruscan bronzes range from very primitive figures and imitations of archaic Greek down to work of Hellenistic character, some of it really fine. Bronze caskets, cups, platters, mirrors, lamps, signets (Horace's *Tyrrhena sigilla*), etc., are very numerous.

³ The modern suggestion that the *Wolf* may be archaic Greek, genuine or imitated, seems to me not worth discussing.



116. THE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL

Etruscan (?) bronze

Photo Alinari



117. THE CHIMAERA

Corinthian (?) bronze, found at Arezzo

Florence, Museo Archeologico

Photo Brogi



118. ETRUSCAN GATE, VOLTERRA
Photo Brogi

THE ETRUSCANS

the massive arches of Volterra and the Cloaca Maxima as Etruscan originals of the arches of the Colosseum and the Pont du Gard.

But there was something else, quite as interesting if perhaps less valuable, derived by the Romans from Etruria. In Etruscan architecture and sculpture, as also in the frescos discovered mostly on walls of tombs, we find old 'Aegean' or 'Pelagian' *motifs* underlying much that is borrowed from archaic, and later from classic, Greek art and legend. Now it will be remembered that before the coming of the Achaeans the religion of the inhabitants of Greece and of Aegean lands was mainly characterized by *deisidaimonia* ('dread of the supernatural') and contained much 'spook,' which long continued to stain the later Olympian religion with mystic, dark, and sometimes horrid superstitions. Similarly the old Etruscan awe of the supernatural, derived doubtless from Lydian or Phrygian sources, and manifested in many an old sarcophagus relief and tomb painting, seems to have infected the naturally somewhat unimaginative and rationalistic Romans with that superstitious dread of unseen powers which is more than hinted at in the Latin word *religio*. Many of the popular beliefs that are more or less vaguely indicated by Livy and other Roman writers—such as those connected with the *Manes*, *Lares*, *Lemures*, *haruspices*, *augurs*, *omens*, *flamens*, etc.—are apparently of Etruscan rather than Greek origin.

Except for numerous tomb frescos old Etruscan painting has disappeared as entirely as that of ancient Greece. Possibly we may form a wrong conception from knowing only one class of paintings, but the general character of these tomb frescos certainly indicates a tendency to the superstitious awe and gloom that I have noted. There are a few festal scenes, and a boar-hunt, and even the picture of a harlequin (in curiously modern costume—in the Tomba del Pulcinello at Tarquinii), but the usual subjects are tragic and gloomy,¹ such as funerals and funeral-banquets, infernal scenes (Tomba dell' Orco at Vulci), descents into Hades (Theseus, Hercules, etc.), horrid demons, death-genii with

¹ *E.g.*, a condemned man being attacked by a savage dog harried on by a man in a repulsive mask.

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wings and serpent tails, Charon armed with his hammer,¹ etc. In the earliest period the drawing is primitive and the only colours are black, white, and various reds and yellows. Later we find also blues, greens and a bright vermillion. As in archaic Greek vase-paintings the nude of women is painted a chalky or yellowish white, and that of men is reddish brown. In the more modern Etruscan frescos there is conspicuous Greek (even Hellenistic) influence, and considerable mastery over form, colour, and perspective.

As for Etruscan pottery, we have already seen that vast numbers of so-called 'Etruscan vases' were either importations from Greece (the famous *François Vase* being one such) or else the work of Greek artists in Etruria. Possibly some of these fine vases—among which a good many have Etruscan inscriptions—may have been made by Etruscans who had learnt the art from Greek masters; but the only certainly genuine Etruscan ceramic work seems to be the ancient and rather heavy and clumsy *bucchero*—vases and other vessels made of a clay that is stained an intense black by means of charcoal and is incised (like the oldest 'Aegean' pottery)^d with lines filled in with white pigment. Many specimens of *bucchero* exist in Italian museums. The Chiusi Museum contains fine examples.

¹ Evidently an Etruscan conception. Another death-deity was 'Mater Matuta,' of whom there is a statue in the Florentine Archaeol. Museum. See photo in *Republican Rome*, and p. xiii.

CHAPTER II

REPUBLICAN ROME

ACCORDING to the Roman augurs the twelve vultures seen by Romulus signified the twelve centuries that would elapse before Rome ceased to be the metropolis of the world. This proved wonderfully correct, for Rome's imperial supremacy may be said to have ended (in spite of Charles the Great and the 'Holy Roman Emperors') in A.D. 455, when it was taken by Gaiseric and his Vandals; nor would the guess be far wrong if we deferred the end to the year 476, in which the barbarian Odovacar deposed the inoffensive youth, as Gibbon calls him, who bore the high-sounding name of Romulus Augustulus. These twelve centuries may be divided into three eras—that of the Kings (753–510), that of the Republic (510 to the battle of Actium in 31), that of the Empire (31 B.C. to A.D. 455 or 476). But long before the Empire fell classic art had died and Christian art had begun. I shall therefore regard the third era as ending at the death of Constantine (337), seven years after his transference of the Imperial seat from Rome to Byzantium.

The motley bands of fugitives which under the seven kings coalesced into the people of the Quirites seem to have been dominated in regard to architecture and much else by their powerful and highly civilized neighbours, the Etruscans. All the chief relics of this era, which comprise little or nothing of artistic importance, however interesting they may be archaeologically—such as the Servian Wall, the Tullianum (Mamertine prison), and the original Cloaca Maxima—were doubtless mainly Etruscan, not Roman, work; and the same may be said regarding the originals of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Circus Maximus, the Fountain of Juturna, etc., and perhaps also regarding the newly discovered tomb of Romulus with its slab of rare and beautiful, and certainly non-Roman, black marble—the *lapis niger*.

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But the young Roman race proved to be too vigorous to remain under tutelage. After subduing Etruria and Magna Graecia it developed strong characteristics of its own, adopting and combining the constructive principles of the Etruscans and of the Greeks so as to create a new architecture, which ultimately left its magnificent impress on almost the whole of the then known world.

During the five centuries or so of the Republic, naturally, no regal piles arose, such as those of ancient Assyria, or of the Hellenistic East, or of the Roman Empire; and, as in ancient Egypt and in republican Greece, the dwellings¹ of private citizens were of the nature of 'hospices,' small and lightly built in comparison with the monuments of the dead and the 'houses of eternity' consecrated to the gods. Doubtless not a few great temples and other public buildings were erected; but their relics are surprisingly few—a fact due perhaps to the unsparing zeal with which Augustus and his successors demolished, in order to reconstruct with a magnificence worthy of Imperial Rome.

Architecture

Before considering the extant relics of the Republican era it will be well to note the general character of the new architecture which, drawing its life from Etrurian and Hellenic art, gradually grew up, and developed a vigorous organic form. From the Etruscans the Romans derived the arch and the vault; from the Greeks, both directly and through the Etruscans, they adopted columns and architrave. Some Roman buildings, especially temples, are constructed entirely on the Greek architraval system; others, especially the aqueducts, bridges, portals, and huge baths (*thermae*), are indebted greatly to the main principles of the Etruscan arch and vault, while the cupola and the dome (derived from Eastern Hellenistic architecture) were used in the Imperial era to cover vast spaces, as well as

¹ As Horace tells us, the great generals and magistrates of the earlier Republic, such as Camillus, Fabricius, and Curius, were plain burghers, often quite poor men and despisers of private wealth. But in and after the Augustan age the vast palaces and villas of the rich and the huge *insulae* (prototypes of London 'flat' mansions and New York 'sky-scrapers') were conspicuous features of Rome.

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the half-dome or apse, of which there are enormous specimens in the so-called ' Basilica of Constantine ' (Forum), combined with immense barrel-vaulting.

But the most characteristic of the Roman buildings (amphitheatres, triumphal arches, etc.) are those in which the arch is combined with the column and the entablature, both of which to a great extent lost their constructive function and became merely decorative. How this combination originated and how it produced results (*e.g.*, theatres, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, etc.) in which these diverse elements in wondrous wise were welded together into an artistic unity capable of extraordinary grandeur and time-defying endurance may be indicated as follows.

An obvious constructive difference between Greek and Roman architecture may be at once discerned by recalling to memory such buildings as the Parthenon and the Paestum temples and then the Colosseum or the Pont du Gard. The main constructive principles, that of the architrave and that of the arch, are fundamentally different. But there is another and perhaps more essential difference. Such mighty and massive constructions as those built by the Romans in all parts of their world-empire were neither practicable for the Greek architraval system nor in accordance with the spirit of Greek art with its delicate sense for perfect form and exquisite proportions. The main feature of Roman character was a love of power and practical results, and this shows itself in Roman architecture by vast edifices constructed in solid masses. Not only were huge blocks of tufa and travertine and other stone used by the Romans, as by the Etruscans; mighty masses of brick were also largely employed, as was also concrete cast into gigantic cubes to take the place of blocks or to form the interior of enormous walls faced with stone or brick, or with alternate layers of stone and brick.¹ Roman mortar and concrete (especially that called *pozzolana*, made of lime and volcanic tufa detritus, found especially in the parts between Pozzuoli and Vesuvius) acquired a hardness like that of Egyptian syenite, and accounts for the apparent indestructibility of many huge Roman remains. By means too of wooden supports they

¹ Often set obliquely in one layer and horizontally in the next (*opus reticulatum*).

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built of cement not only arches and enormous barrel and intersecting vaults but even, in the Imperial era, great apses and domes, such as are seen in the Basilica of Constantine and the Pantheon, which possesses the first and by far the greatest of domes built in Italy by the Romans.¹ And these arches and vaults and domes are based on the support of mighty masses of masonry.

Indeed, one may almost say that the arch itself in many cases (not in the Pont du Gard but certainly in the Colosseum) is scarcely a constructive necessity. It is rather of a supplementary and decorative nature—merely a hole cut in a massive wall.² And if in these cases the arch has but little work to do except to lighten and to adorn, still less has the column. The more or less modified Greek orders used in the Colosseum and in triumphal arches and city gates (as the Porta Maggiore at Rome and the Porta Nigra at Trèves) have lost their constructive function; they do no work;³ they are merely attached to, or let into, the piers or walls as decorations—an arrangement doubtless architecturally false, for from the strictly artistic point of view the beauty and nobility of a column are derived from the fact that it fulfils (or, in the case of a ruin, may be imagined as fulfilling) its function of holding aloft a great weight. Moreover, in such cases the architrave, or the whole entablature, is reduced to a mere ornament, superficially decorating a massive wall or projecting from it in meaningless fashion; and it often loses its horizontal character and becomes an arcuate or triangular⁴ decoration, or runs round the arch as a decorative border—a most curious specimen of atrophied survival.

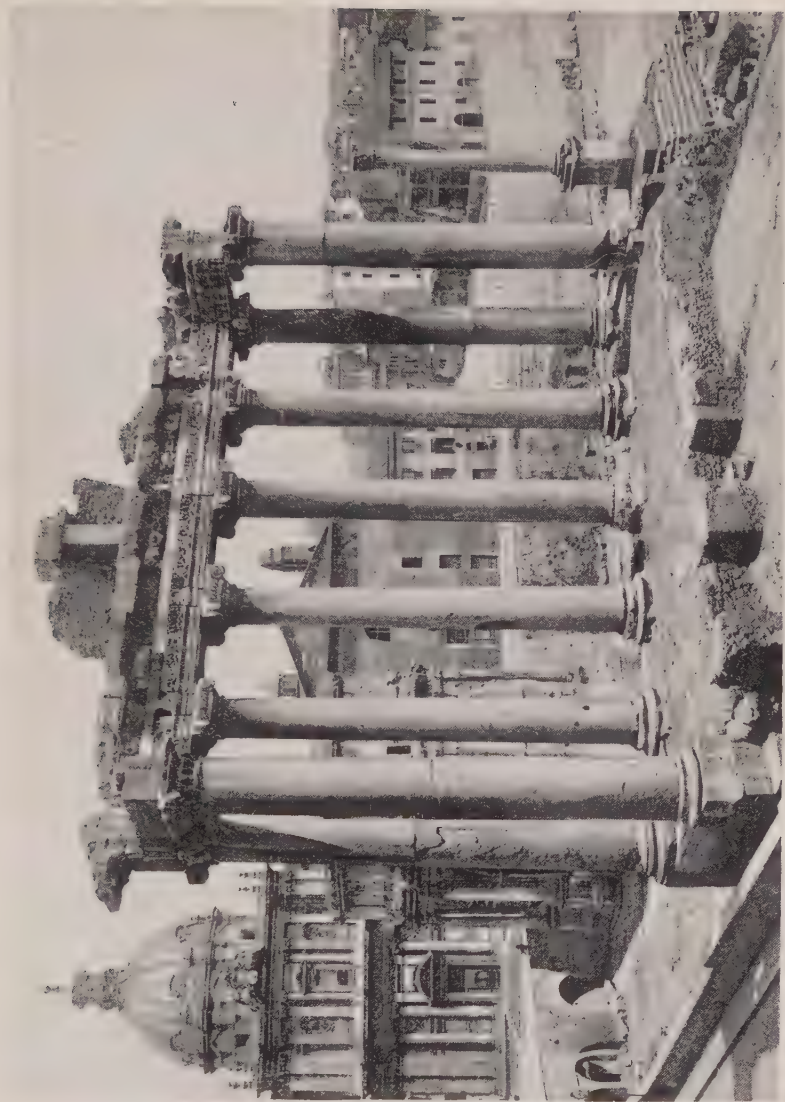
Nevertheless, when the proportions are fine, as they are in the Colosseum, the effects produced by this combination

¹ Whether the Pantheon dome is all of one solid piece is a matter of debate. A huge 'monolithic' dome is that of the tomb of Theoderic at Ravenna. See *Medieval Italy*, p. 261.

² The oldest Italian amphitheatre, that of Pompeii (c. 70 B.C.), has no external decorative columns, but merely Etruscan-like arches. The arch is used with small columns merely decoratively (as in the arcades of Lombard and Pisan Romanesque) in the palace of Diocletian at Spalato (c. A.D. 300). Soon afterward, as we shall see later, it began to be actually supported by columns, which thus once more began to have a constructive function, e.g., in the Mausoleum of S. Costanza, Constantine's daughter, at Rome.

³ Like the false windows used as decorations (also on inside wall-surfaces) by late Renaissance architects—even by Michelangelo.

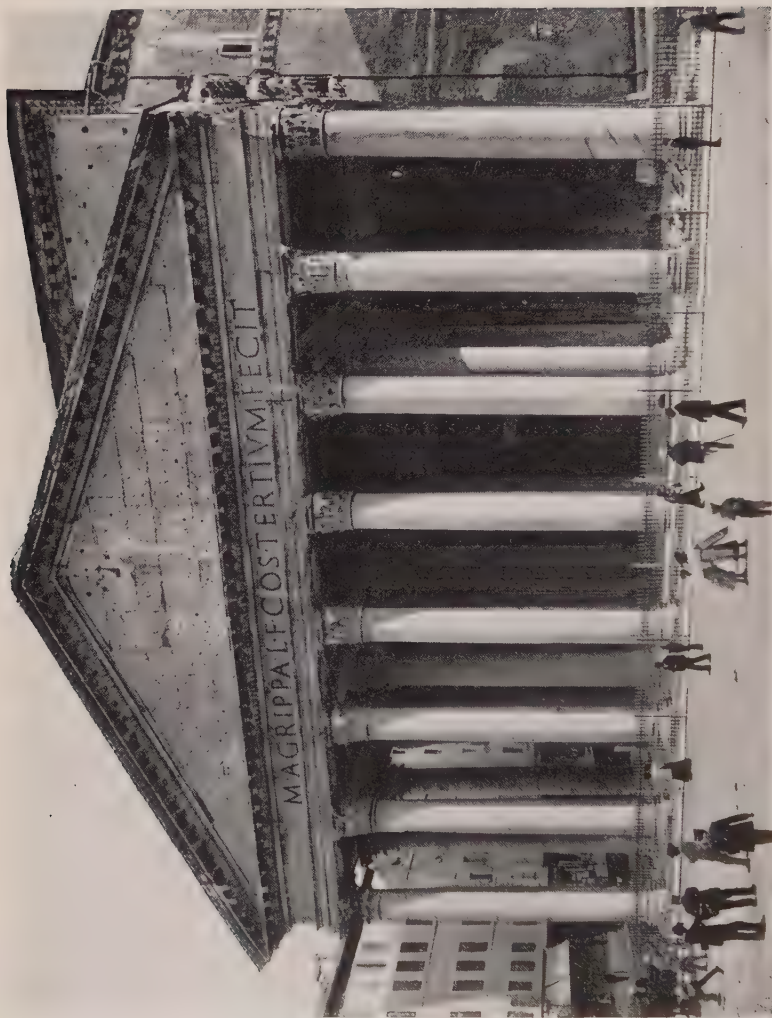
⁴ E.g., in the triumphal arches at Orange and Rimini.



119. TEMPLE OF SATURN, ROME

See p. 154

Photo Alinari



120. THE PANTHEON

See p. 162

Photo Alinari

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of the Etruscan arch with the Greek orders are often exceedingly impressive—as indeed are also some of the finest buildings of the Cinquecento, such as those of Sansovino at Venice, in which arch and column and entablature are still more conspicuous but have very little of that work to do which lends much nobility and beauty to the main features of such architecture as the best Greek, Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, and early Florentine Renaissance.

The three Greek orders were used by the Romans somewhat modified. The Doric was usually the emasculated Etruscan type, with narrowed and often unfluted shaft and diminished capital (*echinus* and *abacus*), and was furnished with an Ionic base and plinth.¹ At Cora the ruined temple shows a fine example of direct Roman imitation of the Doric order only slightly Tuscanized, retaining the flutings of the shafts and the triglyphs and metopes of the frieze, as in Greek Doric; but a Tuscan base and plinth are added. The lower arcade of the Colosseum, on the other hand, is adorned with inert, unfluted Tuscan Doric columns and has no frieze.

Roman Ionic is sometimes an impressive imitation of the original, *e.g.*, in the temple of Fortuna Virilis (Rome), in the Mole of Hadrian, and in the Saturn temple of the Forum, where the (granite) columns are without flutings. It is also used in the second storey of the Colosseum.

Corinthian was the order especially favoured by the Romans. It was used not only (as in earlier Greek architecture) for interiors but also for external pillars of temples and porticos, which were sometimes of enormous size. Impressive examples are the columns of the Castor and Pollux temple in the Forum, those of the huge Roman Hellenistic temples of Zeus at Athens and at Baalbec, of the Pantheon and the third storey of the Colosseum at Rome, and those of the very beautiful portico of a Minerva temple at Assisi. In comparison with the early Greek specimens, such as those of the Lysicrates monument (see index), which show severity of treatment in their few and large conventional acanthus leaves and stalks, the Roman

¹ Natali and Vitelli say well that the addition of the base and plinth deprives the Doric column of its 'majesty and power, altering its function, which was to support, not to be supported.' How ignoble the Tuscan Doric can be may be seen by the huge columns of the modern Florentine Borsari.

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Corinthian capital luxuriates in dense, soft, delicately chiselled, and projecting foliage, preferring the *acanthus mollis*, and introducing even the olive (*e.g.*, the Pantheon and the so-called 'Maison Carrée' at Nîmes). In Roman Corinthian moreover the architrave of three planes is, unlike the Greek, often surmounted by a very richly sculptured frieze and cornice (*e.g.*, the 'Colonnacce' of Nerva's Forum in Rome). Lastly, the Romans devised a new type by placing the Ionic capital on the Corinthian.¹ This 'Composite' capital is found frequently (*e.g.*, in the Arch of Titus).

The Roman temple was usually a rectangular parallelogram on a high basis accessible by a flight of steps. It consisted of a colonnaded portico, or *atrium*, and a sanctuary (*cella*—sometimes triple). It was seldom surrounded by a free arcade (*peripteral*). Except at the front the columns, when used, were attached to, or embedded in, the walls. A well-preserved example is the Maison Carrée. Circular temples—of perhaps ancient Italian or Etruscan origin—were sometimes built by the Romans. Of this type the circular part of the Pantheon is by far the grandest example. Others are the two well-known Round Temples—one at Rome and the other at Tivoli—described below. The church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, near the Forum, famous for its splendid mosaics, is partially formed from an ancient Round Temple of the Imperial era.

Having thus sketched the main characteristics of classical Roman architecture both of the Republican and of the Imperial era, I shall first give a list of the most notable extant Republican buildings, and after considering the scanty sculpture and the coinage of this period shall devote the following chapter wholly to a similar list of the very numerous architectural and sculptural relics of Imperial times, and add a few remarks on Roman painting.

(1) Extant are some substructures of very old Roman temples, but there remains little of value artistically until we arrive at the last decades of the Republic. Of these older temples, three can scarcely be

¹ The original Corinthian was only a variety of the Ionic, the volutes of which are in early examples plainly indicated by the reverted acanthus leaves. Later Roman Corinthian introduces small human figures, animals, etc., almost rivalling Lombard in grotesqueness. The shafts are sometimes (*e.g.*, in the Pantheon) of granite and, as in late Ionic, unfluted.

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passed over. On the Capitol near the temple of Juno Moneta stood that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. It had in early days three chapels (*cellae*), and was sacred to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (as a similar temple at Pompeii). It was often rebuilt—for the last time probably by Domitian—and was burnt down by Gaiseric and his Vandals (A.D. 455), who robbed it of its famous 'golden roof' (of gilded bronze tiles). The grand temple of *Concordia* was originally built by Camillus (c. 366 B.C.) to commemorate the peace between patricians and plebeians. It was reconstructed in 121 B.C., and again by Tiberius. On its site, in the north-western corner of the Forum, little remains; but a portion of its very fine entablature—the one really artistically valuable object (though perhaps of the Imperial era) connected with these ancient Roman temples—has been preserved in the *Tabularium*.¹ The third of these temples was that of *Jupiter Victor* on the Palatine, vowed by Fabius Maximus during the battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.).

(2) At Volsian Cora (now Cori) stand yet the fine Roman Doric columns already mentioned. The temple, dedicated to Hercules, if a dubious inscription may be trusted, or possibly to the three Capitoline deities, is thought to date from Sulla's era (c. 80 B.C.).

(3) The impressive *Amphitheatre* at Pompeii was probably the earliest of such buildings—which were a speciality of the Romans. It was begun about 70 B.C. Of early *theatres* that of Pompey (the first built of stone in Rome) has almost entirely vanished, but that named after the young Marcellus, nephew of Augustus (well known to all who have read Virgil's account of the descent of Aeneas into Hades), has left twelve splendid arches, the lower of which have Doric and the upper Ionic columns. There was probably, as in the Colosseum, a third tier with Corinthian columns. This theatre was begun by Julius Caesar. At Pompeii and Herculaneum there are remains of old theatres.

(4) The *Tomb of Caecilia Metella*, wife of Crassus (son of the Triumvir) and daughter of the conqueror of Crete, consul 69 B.C. It dates probably from the last decade of the Republic. On a massive square base is a cylindrical tower, about 75 feet in diameter. The battlements were added in the thirteenth century by the Caetani—the warlike noble family to which Boniface VIII, Dante's notorious foe, belonged.

(5) The magnificent portico of the Pantheon, built in 27 B.C., will be noted later, when we consider the whole building, so we will pass on to three beautiful Corinthian columns of Parian marble (Fig. 121) which still adorn the middle of the Forum at Rome. These are relics of the *peripteral* temple of Castor and Pollux (the *Castores*), first vowed when the 'heavenly Twins' (*Dioscuri*) helped the Romans at the battle of Lake Regillus (496). During about four and a half centuries it was one of the chief temples of the Republic, and was doubtless restored frequently. The columns probably date from the reconstruction (by Caec. Metellus) in 117 B.C.; possibly, however, from the days of Tiberius, or even of Hadrian.

(6) The well-known *Round Temple* at Tivoli (Tibur)—that of the Sibyl or Vesta, or Hercules—dates from late Republican times. Ten of its eighteen

¹ A complex of five rows of vaults one of which formed an arcade of halls (flanked with Roman Doric columns, that still exist) on the side of the Capitol that bounds the Forum to the east. Built first in 78 B.C.

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very beautiful columns survive. The capitals are of the best Roman Corinthian type, with the graceful foliage of the *acanthus mollis*.

(7) The eight noble Ionic columns (Fig. 119) of the temple of Saturn date from the rebuilding of the ancient fane and Treasury in 42 B.C. (*consule Planco*; see *Hor. Carm.* iii, 14, 27).

(8) The equally well-known little round *Temple of Vesta* near the Ponte Rotto at Rome—perhaps a chapel of Portunus (God of Harbours) or of the Etruscan goddess Mater Matuta (p. 146 n.)—has similar Corinthian columns and evidently dates from the same era.

(9) Close by is the ninth-century church of *S. Maria Egiziaca*, formed from a small temple (4 × 7, *pseudoperipteral*), of which the Ionic columns of the (once free) portico and the half-columns set into the rear and side walls are very well preserved. The building dates from Republican times and is generally, but without any good reason, called the temple of *Fortuna Virilis*.

(10) Close, again, to this temple is the ancient bridge that joins the *Insula Tiberina* with the left bank of the Tiber.¹ It was built, as its inscription states, by L. Fabricius, a *Curator Viarum* (62 B.C.) On account of the four-faced Hermes busts on the parapets it bears also the (medieval) name of *Ponte dei Quattro Capi*.

(11) Of the numerous Roman *basilicas*²—the greatest of which, such as the huge *Basilica Constantini*, belong to the Imperial era—there are a few relics, dating from Republican times. Little but the site is known of the *Basilica Porcia*, built by the old Cato c. 184 B.C., of the *Aemilia* (c. 179), and the *Sempronia* (c. 169). The great basilica at Pompeii (c. 100) is perhaps the earliest of which we have important remains, viz., a well-marked ground-plan and considerable portions of the numerous columns, etc. The *Basilica Julia*, the site of which, studded with the stumps of about seventy columns, occupies so large a space in the Forum, was begun by Julius Caesar and opened by him (unfinished) after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). It may therefore be regarded as belonging to the Republican era.

(12) Rome was first supplied with water from the hills by the *Aqua Appia*, made by the same Appius Claudius who made the *Via Appia* (c. 312 B.C.). A second supply came through the *Anio vetus*, made about 270 B.C. A great aqueduct on arches was built about 52 B.C. by Q. Marcius Rex. This—the *Aqua Marcia*—was restored in 1869 and is in full use. It is fifty-six miles long.

¹ Pons Cestius, which joins it with the right bank, dates from Augustan times, but has been much rebuilt, and lengthened at both ends. Of Pons Milvius (*Ponte Molle*), first built probably when the Via Flaminia was made (c. 220 B.C.), the four central arches may date from reconstruction by Scaurus in 109 B.C. Pons Aemilius (*Ponte Rotto*) dates from 181 B.C. The last relics of the famous Sublician bridge, of the kingly era, have disappeared since the 'rectification' of the Tiber. For the later bridges see index.

² The great Greek edifice at Paestum is probably not a basilica. The portico (*stoa*) under which the chief magistrate ('King-Archon') in ancient Athens administered justice was called a 'King's [portico],' i.e., *basiliké*. In course of time the open portico was closed in and a rectangular oblong building was formed divided internally by rows of columns into three aisles and usually surrounded by a colonnade and raised on a basement ascended by steps. It was used not only as court-house but as town-hall, exchange, public assembly room, etc. Its coffered ceiling, apses, aisles, etc., were copied in the Christian basilica.



121. COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX, ROME

See p. 153
Photo Alinari



122. RELICS OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT

See p. 165

Photo Brogi



123. THE COLOSSEUM, OR FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE

Imperial era. See p. 164

Photo Alinari

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Another great water supply was that of the mainly subterranean *Aqua Virgo*, constructed by M. Agrippa in 19 B.C. It still feeds many great Roman fountains (Trevi, Navona, Piazza di Spagna, etc.). The *Aqua Claudia*, remains of which are still an impressive feature of the south-western Campagna, belongs to the Imperial era, as it was built by Claudius about A.D. 52. It brought water from the vicinity of Subiaco—about forty-five miles—and supplied especially the palaces of the Palatine.

Sculpture

We have seen that the Romans of the Republic derived some important elements of their sculpture and their architecture from Etruscan art, which was itself derived from archaic Greek as well as from old Italic sources. But they were also directly and largely influenced by later Hellenic art—by the work of Hellenistic artists in Italy and by the introduction of works of art from Greece and from Hellenized countries such as Magna Graecia, Sicily, and Asia Minor. We find accordingly among the scanty relics of Roman sculpture during the Republican era several well-defined types.

(1) Firstly we have sculptures which although Roman in subject, and in details, are decidedly Etruscan in conception and probably also in execution, and show that austere and 'too conscientious' realism which offers such a contrast to Greek imagination, idealism, and love of beauty. An example of this type—perhaps Etruscan, perhaps early Roman—is the already noted *Wolf*. Another is a monument in very high relief (in the Vatican) representing, evidently, a man and his wife—often called *Cato and Portia*. The dress is Roman, and the modelling shows skill due to Greek influence, but the clumsy and inartistic conception of the two half-length figures side by side is of the same spirit as that of many a repulsive Etruscan funerary effigy.¹

(2) Then we have works of Greek (Hellenistic) sculptors² resident in Italy, or of their pupils, or of Etruscans or Romans who may have studied in Greece or Magna Graecia or other Hellenistic art-centres, or may have formed their style

¹ Why is it that a half-length in sculpture is so offensive, while one accepts busts without demurrer?

² During the last period of the Republic many workshops had been established in Rome for the production of copies, or free imitations, of Greek sculptures. Plaster casts of celebrated masterpieces were used as models. It is to those workshops that we are indebted for most of the 'Greek statues' of our museums.

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on Hellenistic master-works transported to Italy—*e.g.*, the *Laocoon* (Rhodes), the *Dying Gaul* (Pergamon, or Athens), and the *Farnese Bull* (Tralles). As apparently Roman in drapery and design, though treated in Greek style, and therefore perhaps to be regarded as ‘Roman sculpture,’ may be mentioned the well-known group (signed by Menelaus, a Hellenic ‘eclectic’ master of early Imperial days) called *Orestes and Electra*, or *Telemachus and Penelope* (Mus. Naz., Rome, and Naples), as well as the *Aringatore* (Orator), which, though of early date (probably *c.* 250 B.C.), is certainly not Etruscan in conception but idealized in Greek fashion, despite the fact that, according to its inscription, it is the work of an Etruscan sculptor and is the portrait of a certain Metelius, (see pp. 143–144, and Fig. 115). With the *Aringatore* we may class two statues (British Museum and Vatican) representing toga-clad Romans of the late Republican era (Fig. 125). They are fine examples of a Roman subject treated in the Greek spirit. Here too we may note the fine sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus (great-grandfather of Hannibal’s conqueror, consul in 298) discovered in the tomb of the Scipios. The main features are those of the Doric entablature, and show no Etruscan influence.¹ For this tomb and for busts of the period see *Republican Rome*.

(3) Etruscan and Roman realism together with the prevalent ancestor-cult caused a strong tendency toward portrait sculpture. Death-masks were in use at an early period, and from these were made busts—exact effigies in wax, terra-cotta, or bronze—which were set up as *penates* around the altar-hearth of Roman homes. Portrait busts consequently form a large part of the rare art-relics of the Republican era. Especially notable are :

(a) *L. Jun. Brutus*, the expeller of the Tarquins—possibly dating from about 450 B.C. It may be the original from which M. Jun. Brutus, Caesar’s friend and assassin, had his ancestor’s effigy copied on coins and in statues.

(b) *King Pyrrhus*. The Lysippus style of workmanship seems to denote a date near that of Pyrrhus (say about 270).

(c) Some fine busts of uncertain personality but evidently dating from rather later Republican times, *e.g.*, the so-called *Marius* (Vatican), *Sulla* (Vatican), *Cato of Utica* (Capitol), *Scipio Africanus* (Florence). There is

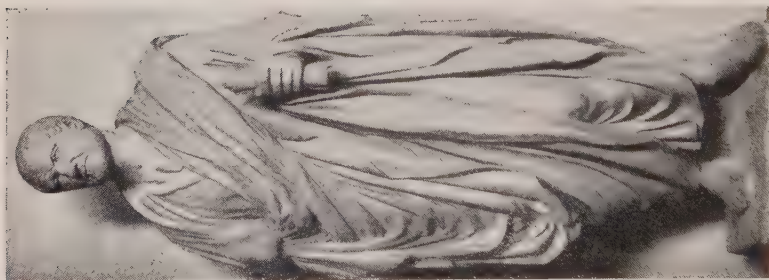
¹ Also a finely modelled bust in Greek style was discovered in the same tomb—possibly of the poet Ennius; for Cicero says his effigy was placed there.



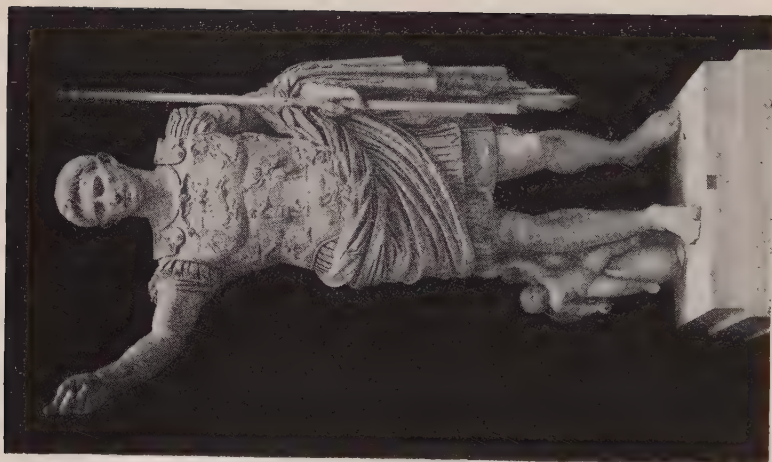
124. THE SO-CALLED ORESTES AND ELECTRA

Roman-Greek, imitative of earlier Greek work

Photo Brogi



125. 'CIVIS ROMANUS SUM'
Last century B.C. *Brit. Mus.*
Photo Mansell



126. CAESAR AUGUSTUS
Early Imperial era. See p. 169
Photo Brogi

ROMAN COINS

also a fine seated statue of *Marcellus*, the captor of Syracuse (Capitol), which has the characteristics of a genuine contemporary portrait, but—to judge from the hollowed pupils—is probably a copy made not before Hadrian's reign.

(d) Busts of late Republican celebrities, in which the same striking power of realistic portraiture is seen in combination with an almost Greek skill of artistic presentment. Of these we may note especially various busts of *Julius Caesar* (Naples, British Museum, and Berlin), a bust of *Poseidonius*, among whose pupils was the orator Cicero (Naples; see *Republican Rome*, p. xxii), several of *Cicero*, of which that of Apsley House is the most notable (*Republican Rome*, p. xxi); and perhaps I may add—though artistically of less value—the famous Palazzo Spada statue of *Pompey*, found near Pompey's theatre and just possibly the very 'statua' at the base of which (if Shakespeare's authorities are trustworthy) great Caesar fell.

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The difference in regard to art between the Hellenic character and that of the Romans is perhaps nowhere more conspicuous than in their coins. When we compare any of the many exquisite coins of ancient Hellas with even the best of the innumerable coins of the Roman Republic—that is, of an era (268–31) subsequent to the great period of Greek art—we are strongly impressed with the fact that whereas the Hellenic coin had not only a monetary but an artistic value and function, the Romans regarded their coins merely from a financial, or perhaps sometimes also from a political or personal, point of view. It is true that, as in the case of sculpture, Roman coins from early days show Greek-Etruscan, or purely Greek, influence, and in those struck in later times there is to be seen the same skill in realistic portraiture that makes itself so noticeable in Roman busts and statues; but genuine Republican money, from the time when it began to be regularly minted (c. 268) down to the days of Augustus, although of great interest for the archaeologist and historian, seems, with rare exceptions, to prove an almost entire absence of that sense of beauty and dignity which is so noticeable in Hellenic coins. Roman money proclaims the triumphs of militarism rather than true culture and preserves the memory of great warriors and magistrates—a feature found only late in Hellenic art: it reminds one of the well-known lines of Virgil in which the spirit of Anchises prophesies the world-empire of Rome and compares rather disparagingly

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with such military supremacy the art of 'moulding with softer grace the breathing bronze':

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultūs . . .
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!*

Not only Asia Minor, Crete, and Greece itself, but Sicily and the Hellenic cities of Southern Italy had coins of great beauty before the Romans gave up barter and adopted as a medium of exchange unstamped lumps of bronze (*aes rude*). The Twelve Tables (450 B.C.) ordained that certain fines should be paid in bronze (*aes*)—evidently either *aes rude* or more probably a cast-bronze brick, capable of being broken into four or five bits, each weighing about a pound. This brick (called *aes signatum*) bore designs of weapons, implements, or domestic animals (whence *pecunia*, the common Latin word for 'money'). Pliny tells us that Livy asserts (in one of the lost books of his History?) that Servius Tullius *primus signavit aes*. Now this king was, it is said, of Etruscan origin, and such fine beasts as we find stamped on his coins (see Plate LXII in *Republican Rome*) were doubtless designed not by a Roman but by a Hellenized Etruscan, or by some Greek from one of the cities of Magna Graecia. And the heavy, round, bronze coinage (*aes grave*) which after the great Latin war (c. 338) succeeded the bronze bricks and introduced the *as* as monetary standard sometimes shows a vigour and dignity in design (e.g., in the helmeted 'Roma' of the ten-*as* piece) reminding one of archaic Greek art. Moreover, even after the introduction of *struck* coinage, about the year 268, we still find some really fine designs (e.g., heads of Roma, Jupiter, Mars, etc.) which are doubtless the work of Greek, or Hellenized, artists. But it would seem that after the Punic wars, when the Romans began to make themselves 'lords of the world,' the spirit of militarism banished all beauty and dignity from Roman coinage. Interesting as the countless Roman coins are (even those struck after the days of the Antonines, when all Roman art rapidly degenerated into medieval barbarism) they form a subject for the archaeologist and political historian rather than for a writer who has to limit himself as much as possible to what is artistically important either in itself or on account of its influences.

CHAPTER III

IMPERIAL ROME (31 B.C. TO A.D. 313)

Architecture

THE main constructive features of Roman architecture have been already noted, so that the object of the present section will be best attained by giving, with a few explanations, the most important of the wholly or partially extant edifices erected during the Imperial era, down to about the age of Constantine the Great;¹ and perhaps the best way will be to arrange them not by site or chronology but by type.

Augustus was followed by ill-famed Julian and Claudian Emperors, who used art almost solely for self-glorification, as is exemplified in the enormous and magnificent palace—the ‘Golden House’—of Nero, which with its parks and lakes occupied large parts of the Palatine, the Caelian, and the Esquiline Hills and intervening spaces. The martial Flavian Emperors, Vespasian and his son Titus, being of plebeian origin and owing their throne to the army and the people, were anxious to gain popularity.² They therefore erected vast buildings for public use—one of which was the Colosseum, built on the site of the great lake of Nero’s now sequestered palace grounds. The Flavians were succeeded by the four ‘adoptive’ Emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and

¹ The dates of the more important Emperors may prove useful, viz. (J. Caesar murdered, 44 B.C.): Augustus assumes Imperial title, 27 B.C.; Tiberius, A.D. 14; Caligula, 37; Claudius, 41; Nero, 54; . . . Vespasian, 69; Titus, 79; Domitian, 81; Nerva, 96; Trajan, 98; Hadrian, 117; Antoninus Pius, 138; M. Aurelius, 161; Commodus, 180; . . . Sept. Severus, 193; Caracalla, 211; . . . Aurelian, 270; . . . Diocletian, 284; . . . Constantine the Great, 306, but sole Emperor 323–337.

² The popular name ‘Flavius’ was adopted as a laudatory epithet by some of the late Emperors. On Constantine’s Arch he is called ‘Caesar Flavius Augustus.’ Even Odovacar and Lombard kings used it, as proved by coins (*Medieval Italy*, p. 118).

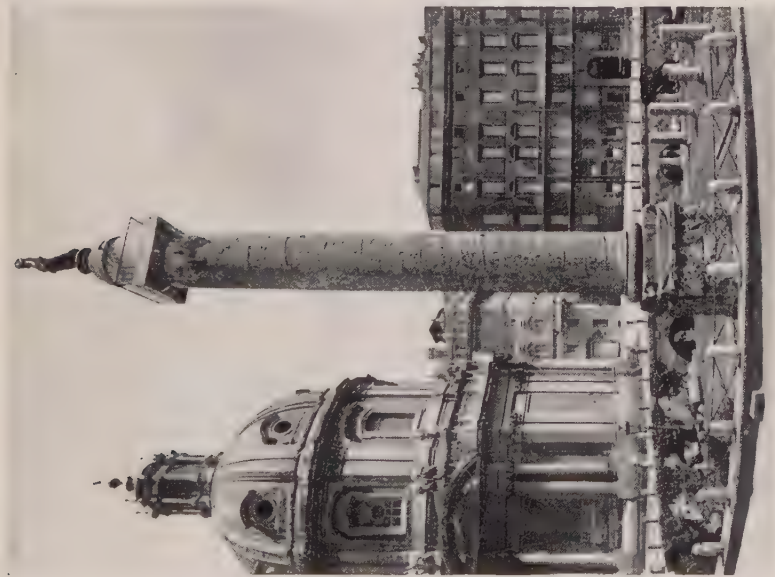
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Marcus Aurelius—the eighty-two years of whose reigns Gibbon calls the period in which the human race attained the highest happiness and prosperity. Of these four admirable rulers, the Emperor Trajan distinguished himself by fine buildings, still extant, in distant parts of the Empire (*e.g.*, the so-called ‘Bed of Pharaoh’ on Philae, Egypt, and the bridge at Alcantara, etc.), as well as by triumphal arches at Ancona and Benevento and his magnificent Forum¹ and Column at Rome, which, as also the Roman road to the Danube and the Roman bridge that once spanned that river, were the work of his famous architect, Apollodorus of Damascus.

But it was Hadrian, who, not only in Rome but throughout his vast dominions, many distant provinces of which he visited, showed himself a great builder as well as a devotee of ancient—especially of Greek—art. An example of the labour and money that he expended on fortifying the frontiers of the Empire is the Wall of Hadrian, extending from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne. He rebuilt so much of Athens that a whole district of the city received the name Hadrianopolis²—as also the city founded by him in Thrace. The military camps and roads, the theatres, amphitheatres, temples, *thermae*, triumphal arches, basilicas, forums, public colonnades, aqueducts, bridges, palaces, and villas which during the reigns of Hadrian and his successors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, came into existence not only in Italy but throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, from Scotland to the Sahara and from the Atlantic to beyond the Euphrates, were astounding in number and many of them astounding in size. As we shall see, not a few of these still exist, wholly or partially, as well as the remains of some gigantic edifices (*e.g.*, at Spalato, Palmyra, Baalbec, etc.) dating from the period between the

¹ The middle of it was excavated by the French in Napoleonic times. Trajan's Forum is described by old writers as the most wondrous thing in Rome, ‘deserving the admiration of the gods themselves.’ For the Basilica Ulpia and the Column see later. The recalling to life of the Emperor after five hundred years (for the purpose of baptism) effected by the prayers of Gregory the Great—a legend to be found in Dante (*Par.* xx)—is said to have been mainly due to the impression made on the Pope by Trajan's Forum—though then robbed of its many statues and other glories.

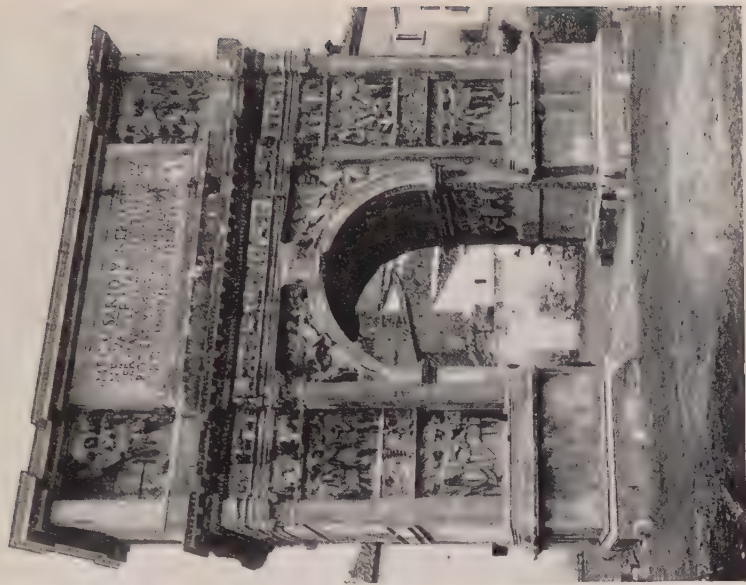
² An arch still exists bearing on one side ‘This is the city of Theseus,’ and on the other ‘This is the city of Hadrian.’



127. TRAJAN'S COLUMN, ROME

Beneath which he was buried

Photo Brogi



128. TRAJAN'S ARCH, BENEVENTO

Erected by S.P.Q.R., A.D. 114-115

Photo Alinari



129. MOLE OF HADRIAN (CASTLE OF SANT' ANGELO)
Photo Brogi



130. PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS AND PORTA S. PAOLO, ROME
Photo Brogi

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

Antonines and Constantine the Great, especially from the reigns of Aurelian and Diocletian.

The following lists, in which the buildings are classified according to their various types, will now be more easily used. In regard to temples—which in the case of Greece claimed our attention almost exclusively—it should be remembered that, to say nothing of conflagrations such as that in Nero's reign, very many Roman temples, both in Rome and also in the provinces, were destroyed in early Christian times, when not 'converted' for Christian use. The materials and foundations were sometimes appropriated for building churches, as in the case of S. Maria sopra Minerva, and in many a Christian basilica may be seen splendid columns taken from ruined or demolished pagan fanes. How rapidly this demolition took place is evident from the fact that in the days of the Emperor Gratian (c. 380) there were, says a contemporary chronicler, still in Rome 424 pagan temples and 'not one Christian church worthy to be named,' while at the death of Theodosius the Catholic in 395 all temples had been closed and most destroyed.¹

(1) Temples

Templum divi Julii, an Ionic temple built after Actium (31 B.C.) to deified Julius Caesar, on the spot where his body was exposed and burnt (east end of Forum). Only remnants of foundations.

Temple of Mars the Avenger (Martis Ultoris) was one of eighty-two temples said to have been built by Augustus. It was dedicated in 2 B.C. Here were deposited the standards lost in the sanguinary defeat of Crassus and given back by the Parthians in 20 B.C. Commanders who were granted a triumph devoted here their triumphal insignia. Three fine Corinthian columns, with frieze, remain—on the site of the Forum of Augustus.

Templum divi Augusti—massive brick relics, on the Palatine.

Temple of Castor and Pollux, already noted (p. 153), was rebuilt by Augustus c. A.D. 6, and later by Hadrian. Three tall and beautiful Corinthian columns of Parian marble remain and are a conspicuous and attractive feature among the ruins of the Forum.

Temple of Minerva, at Assisi—of early Imperial times. The remains, transformed into a church, include six high and graceful Corinthian portico-columns of travertine.

Temple of Hercules (now Museum) at Brescia, erected in A.D. 72 by

¹ See *Medieval Italy*, Part I, Chapter IV. The statement of the *Notitia Urbis* (c. 380) about the non-existence of any Christian church worthy of mention must be taken *cum grano salis*.

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Vespasian (as proved by an inscription), retains a portico of ten columns set on a lofty substructure, like the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, which is of the same era (built by grandsons of Augustus).

Templum divi Vespasiani, now a ruin with three beautiful Corinthian columns and part of frieze, under the Tabularium and near the Temple of Saturn (Forum), was dedicated by Titus to his deified father. It was rebuilt by Antoninus and Sept. Severus.

Aedes and Atrium Vestae (circular shrine and colonnaded court) and the *Domus Vestalium* (Convent of Vestal Virgins), erected originally by King Numa; rebuilt by wife of Sept. Severus. Of the *Atrium*, its columns, statues, etc., extensive remains exist (Forum).

The *Pantheon* (Fig. 120) is the only ancient building in Rome with walls and roof intact. It was originally a rectangular temple with three shrines, sacred to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, or to the seven planetary deities. Its portico with sixteen majestic granite Corinthian columns, erected by Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, in 27 B.C., still stands, but it is now attached to a great circular edifice (Rotunda) with a vast dome, which Hadrian erected to replace the body of the ancient temple, damaged by lightning in Trajan's reign. The dome is almost exactly a half-sphere,¹ of the same height as that of the Rotunda on which it rests; accordingly the whole height of the building (about 140 feet) is nearly that of its diameter. After Theodosius closed all heathen temples (c. 390) it stood unused for centuries. The roof of gilded bronze tiles was stolen, as had been that of the temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus). About 600 the Eastern Emperor Phocas gave it to Gregory the Great for a church. About 735 Gregory III covered the dome with lead. It is the mausoleum of modern kings of Italy and of a king of painters—Raphael.

Temple of Neptune, between the Pantheon and the Column of M. Aurelius; possibly built by Agrippa (after Actium?) but more probably by Hadrian. There remain eleven impressive Corinthian columns some 42 feet high, relics of the north side of the temple, which was 15 × 8.

Temple of Venus and Roma, between Forum and Colosseum, built from Hadrian's own plans, was a huge temple (10 × 20) and had two vast apses (shrines of the two divinities—once faced with splendid marbles); all surrounded by a portico of 150 granite columns, many remains of which lie around. The eastern apse still faces the Colosseum, but much of the temple is built into the church of S. Francesca Romana. The gilded bronze-tile roof was taken by Pope Honorius (626) for St Peter's basilica.

Temple of Faustina, dedicated by the Senate to Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius, and later dedicated also to him. It has been converted into the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. The fine portico with its ten Corinthian columns and fine frieze is conspicuous on the northern side of the Forum. To the right of it is SS. Cosma e Damiano (famous for its sixth-century mosaics), attached to a round temple built by Maxentius, the rival of Constantine the Great, in honour of his deified son Romulus.

At *Baalbec* and *Palmyra* (Syria), from the reign of Aurelian to that of Diocletian, vast buildings were erected, mostly Hellenistic (Corinthian) in

¹ Whether or not the dome is 'monolithic' (a solidly cemented whole) seems still uncertain.



131. AMPHITHEATRE, ARLES

See p. 164

X Photo



132. LA MAISON CARRÉE, NÎMES

Collection Rischgitz



133. PART OF TEMPLE OF JUPITER, BAALBEC



134 PART OF COLONNADE, PALMYRA, SYRIA
Photos Bonhls

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

style but Oriental in size.¹ The huge *Baal temple*, dating perhaps from the reign of Sept. Severus, has Corinthian columns 75 feet high; the smaller, but impressively great, *Temple of Jupiter*, elevated on a terrace of gigantic blocks (some of them 60 × 15 feet), is said by Peyre to be about 250 × 125 yards.

We now come to the age of Constantine, when Christian churches begin largely to supersede temples at Rome and in the provinces. One of the last pagan fanes built (or rebuilt?) in Rome was the *Portico of the Twelve Gods* (*Deorum Consensium*), the relics of which are near the Temple of Saturn (Forum). It dates from A.D. 367, shortly before Theodosius the Catholic, who closed all heathen temples.

(2) Basilicas

The basilicas of the Republican era have been already noted. Of the more important built in Imperial times, the following are, in more or less fragmentary state, extant.

Basilica of Sept. Severus. Its ruins, on the Palatine, show a great palace hall with central nave and two aisles, the nave ending in an apse. The flanking columns supported superimposed colonnaded galleries, and the raised floor of the apse, railed off, formed a *podium* for the Emperor and his suite. The main features are therefore very similar to those of the Christian basilica.

Basilica Ulpia. Its very extensive relics in Trajan's Forum show it to have had a nave flanked on each side by two aisles, like the ancient (now rebuilt) Christian basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura, which it also resembled in its vast dimensions, its magnificent marbles, and in its timber roof with richly bronze-ornamented, panelled, wooden ceiling.² The Ulpian basilica had five apses. (Trajan belonged to the *gens Ulpia*.)

Basilica of Constantine—originally built by his rival, Maxentius. The huge remains (extending over about 330 × 250 feet) include three of the enormous arches and the barrel-vaulting (*c.* 67 feet wide) of the north-eastern aisle and a part of a gigantic apse. Of the eight lofty, fluted, white marble Corinthian columns (*c.* 50 feet high) that stood in front of the piers of the nave one is to be seen, bearing a statue of the Madonna, in the piazza of S. Maria Maggiore. Some of the porphyry columns of the south portal, which looked toward the Via Sacra and the Palatine, have been re-erected.

(3) Theatres and Amphitheatres (see Figs. 123, 131)

The plan of the Roman theatre was copied, with some modifications, from the Greek, but whereas Greek theatres were usually semicircular excavations (as that at Olympia and that on the south side of the Athenian Acropolis), the Roman was an erection, at first wooden. As we have seen, Pompey's theatre was the first stone theatre at Rome. This theatre and that of Marcellus as well as those at Pompeii and Herculaneum (which was a

¹ The colonnades of Palmyra are about a mile and a half long. They had 1500 great Corinthian columns, of which about 150 are still standing.

² Poorer basilicas (probably classic as well as Christian) had timber-work roofs with no ceiling. S. Paolo itself may have originally had no ceiling. It was built only about eighty years after Constantine's basilica.

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centre of Greek art) date from Republican times. Later, many were built both in Italy and in the provinces, some of which are still well preserved and very impressive for their size, *e.g.*, at Orange, Arles, Aspendus (Asia Minor), in Spain, and in Algeria. Ruins of theatres exist at Verona, Aosta, Fiesole, etc.

The 'double theatre,' or amphitheatre, by the Romans called 'Arena,' was a Roman invention. It was a huge, massive, elliptical edifice, used especially for gladiatorial shows, combats against or between wild beasts, and naval battles—in which brutal and sanguinary exhibitions the Roman people and their rulers took delight, until in A.D. 404 the self-sacrifice, it is said, of an Eastern monk led to their abolition. The central, elliptical space—the 'Arena' proper, or 'Sand,' sometimes capable of being converted into a lake¹—was surrounded by a *podium*, lofty and well defended against the wild beasts. The front rank (of the Colosseum) was reserved for the Imperial family and retinues, the Vestal Virgins, and the chief nobles and magistrates. The three broad divisions, each of many tiers of stone benches, and the top arcaded gallery could, when closely packed, hold some 60,000 (some say 90,000) spectators. The exit passages (*vomitoria*) could empty the vast building in an astonishingly short time. Besides the Colosseum there exist still very fine Roman arenas of Imperial times, some well preserved, *e.g.*, at Verona (built by Diocletian), Nîmes, Arles, Trèves, Pola, and Syracuse, as well as the older amphitheatres of Pompeii, Capua, Carthage, etc., and as well as numerous ruins, *e.g.*, at Aosta, Lucca, etc.

(4) Bridges

Roman bridges in ruins, rebuilt, or almost intact, are found not only in Italy but in France, Germany, Spain, and other lands. What was unattempted by the Greeks was possible for Roman architecture with its audacious use of the arch and the vault. Fine specimens exist in Rome itself (besides the more ancient bridges, for which see p. 154 *n.*), *e.g.*, the *Pons Cestius*, built originally by Augustus, and the *Pons Aelius* (Ponte S. Angelo), by Hadrian; at Rimini and Aosta; at Narni, near Terni (several piers and an arch of a magnificent bridge over the Nera built by Augustus); at Alcantara, Segovia, and other places in Spain (some of them bridge-aqueducts, and of great size); at Coblenz and Mainz; near Nîmes, viz., the wonderful *Pont du Gard*, which consists of two tiers of huge arcades bearing a third, sustaining at the height of about 160 feet the aqueduct, which once extended for many miles, bringing hill-water to Nîmes.

(5) Triumphal Arches

In Rome those of *Titus* (A.D. 70, to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem), *Sept. Severus*, and *Constantine*² are well-known specimens. Three others,

¹ The Colosseum was built on the site of the lake in Nero's gardens. Its name may have come from the gilded bronze colossal statue of Nero erected by him in front of his 'Golden House' and later converted into an image of the Sun-god (altogether c. 120 feet high). It is called also the Flavian Amphitheatre because Vespasian and Titus were of the *gens Flavia*.

² Constantine used fine reliefs taken from a demolished arch of M. Aurelius, the general plan of which he probably also used—for while the proportions of the arch are exceedingly good, the new reliefs made by Constantine's sculptors prove the amazing degeneration of art since the Antonine era. See Fig. 146 and p. 170.



135. LE PONT DU GARD, NEAR NÎMES

— P. G. G. —



136. ARCH OF TITUS, ROME
Photo Brogi

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

those of *Augustus* and of *Tiberius* and the ancient *Arch of the Fabii*, once spanned the *Via Sacra*; and that of *Gallienus* and the so-called *Arch of Drusus*, near *Porta S. Sebastiano*, still exist. At *Perugia*, *Rimini*, *Aosta*, *Ancona*, and *Benevento* are arches in honour of *Augustus* and of *Tiberius*, and at *Orange* (*France*) is a very fine restored triumphal *Arch of Tiberius*. Many monumental arches spanned great roads, and some, as the *Porta Romana* at *Rimini*, and the *Porta Praetoria* at *Aosta* (which was a huge Roman camp, *Augusta Praetoria*), served as city gates. Other city gates of this era, mostly with two, three, or four passages, and like square forts with flanking towers, are numerous—e.g., those at *Turin*, *Verona*, and *Nîmes*, and the fine *Porta Nigra* at *Trèves*; to which of course are to be added several very fine Gates (some of them considerably altered) of the great *Aurelian walls* (A.D. 271–275) of *Rome*, such as the *Ostienis* (*S. Paolo*) and *Appia* (*S. Sebastiano*).

(6) Aqueducts

Besides the *Pont du Gard* and other bridge-aqueducts, and besides those aqueducts of *Rome* that date from Republican times (see pp. 154–155), there is the great *Aqua Claudia* (Fig. 122), built by the Emperor *Claudius*, the long arcades of which are such a striking feature in the *Roman Campagna*. A similar effect is produced by the long arcades of the aqueduct which supplied *Roman Carthage* (and now helps to supply *Tunis*) from the distant hills of *Zaghouan*.

(7) Tombs, Columns, etc.

The more ancient Roman circular tombs of Etruscan type (such as that of *Caecilia Metella*) have been described, as also excavated tombs in which sarcophagi were deposited (as the tomb of the *Scipios*). During the last century or so of the Republic and down to the age of the Antonines cremation was prevalent and large edifices called *columbaria* (dovecotes) with many niches for cinerary urns were common. Several still exist near the *Scipios'* tomb, just inside *Porta S. Sebastiano*, while outside the gate the *Via Appia* is for a great distance flanked with sepulchres—some like small temples or dwelling-houses, or shaped like a sarcophagus, or an altar. The well-known *Pyramid of Caius Cestius* (d. 12 B.C.) near the Gate of *S. Paolo* and the Protestant Cemetery, is of Oriental type and unique in Italy of that age, at least as regards size. The greatest tomb in *Rome*, almost rivalling a small Egyptian pyramid, was the *Mausoleum of Hadrian*, a vast square base probably surmounted by two cylindrical colonnaded storeys (once rich with marble and with statues) and a conical roof, somewhat in the fashion of a gigantic Etruscan tomb. The marble and the upper storey are gone. Why the name was changed to the *Castel Sant' Angelo* is told in *Medieval Italy* (p. 253). Another huge mausoleum, a domed octagonal temple, was built for himself by *Diocletian* within his enormous palace in *Dalmatia* amidst the ruins of which arose the town of *Spalato* (*Palatium*).

The solitary column, bearing usually a statue, was used by the Romans for monumental purposes.¹ This was undeniably a misuse, for the column

¹ An ancient specimen of a small monumental column was the original of the *Columna rostrata* (Capitol Museum) in honour of *Duilius*, victor in the sea-battle of *Mylae* (260 B.C.). I have given an illustration of it in *Republican Rome*.

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was thereby wholly deprived of the architectural function essential to its beauty and its grandeur, as is very perceptible in the *Phocas* monument, in the Forum, which is an ordinary temple-column on a high pedestal;¹ but in the mighty columns of *Trajan* and *Marcus Aurelius* (the former about 130 feet high and 11 feet thick) the size converts them into something like a round tower. Each is adorned with a spiral band of reliefs. Those of Trajan's Column (scenes from his Dacian war) are 220 yards in length and contain 2500 human figures about 25-30 inches high, besides many animals, etc.

(8) *Thermae*

Thermae were frequently immense buildings and contained not only great swimming-baths and all the apparatus usual in modern Turkish and Roman baths (*Frigidarium*, *Tepidarium*, *Caldarium* and so on) but gymnasia, racecourses, arcades, halls, etc., adorned with splendid sculptures and mosaics.² Especially gigantic are the relics of the *Thermae of Diocletian* (the *Tepidarium* of which was converted by Michelangelo into the vast church of S. Maria degli Angeli) and those of *Caracalla*, which offer a most impressive proof of the incomparable vigour and skill of Roman architecture, even many years after the age of the Antonines, in audacious use of vault, dome, and apse—and in that balance and solidity and neutralizing of enormous thrusts which is so conspicuous in the Pantheon. Great remains of *thermae* exist at Pompeii, and there are interesting ruins at Trèves, Paris, and other places.

(9) Palaces, Villas, etc.

Amidst the vast masses and labyrinths of masonry that cover the Palatine, only about half of which has been yet excavated, there is not much evidence remaining of architectural magnificence or beauty. The scanty relics of Nero's enormous '*Golden House*' and its surroundings, which extended from the Palatine to the Esquiline, right across the region occupied later by the Colosseum and the Baths of Titus, have only archaeological interest, as have the ruins of the vast palaces of Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, and Sept. Severus. All these and the palatial *Villa of Hadrian*, near Tivoli, with its immense complex of buildings and gardens, covering a space four times the area of the Palatine, and the already mentioned *Palace* or '*Villa*' of *Diocletian* at Spalato, are striking proofs of the enormous sums expended by Roman emperors on luxurious edifices.³ The *Septizonium*, a huge construction with three arcaded storeys, stood on the south-east of the Palatine until about 1600, and was used as a model by Sansovino and Palladio, the great Renaissance architects.

The private houses of richer commoners, the ground-plans of which may

¹ Byron's 'nameless column with the buried base'; excavated in 1813. (*Medieval Italy*, p. xix.) The column is ancient and was perhaps erected by Diocletian, but in A.D. 608 was dedicated to the inhuman monster, Emperor Phocas, whose gilded statue was placed on it.

² In the Baths of Caracalla (the total extent of which was 330 yards square) were found many fine statues, including the *Farnese Bull*, and some wonderful mosaics, e.g., that of the *Gladiators* (Lateran). The *Laocoon* was found on, or near, the site of the *Thermae of Titus*.

³ Rich nobles rivalled their rulers, as is proved by the descriptions of Posilipo and other such villas.



137. CARACALLA'S BATHS, ROME
Remains of the frigidarium
Photo Alinari



138. ROMAN MATRON

So-called 'Agrippina.' Roman-Hellenistic sculpture

Capitoline Museum

Photo Brogi

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

be studied in detail at Pompeii, will not demand our space until we come to painting and mosaics. At Rome all relics of such houses have almost totally disappeared, as well as of the great barrack-like edifices, called *insulae*, in which the poorer inhabitants found, doubtless often sordid and overcrowded, lodgings.

Sculpture

Virgil probably expressed an opinion prevalent among his literary and artistic associates when he intimated that the Romans would never vie with the Greeks in 'moulding breathing bronzes and carving from marble living faces'; but we shall see that besides a vast output of Greek-Roman sculpture there was a notable amount produced in Rome of genuinely native character. The enthusiasm for Greek sculpture, both ancient and Hellenistic, was great, and long before the Imperial era, as we have noted, Greek masterpieces were imported and very numerous copies and imitations of Greek works were executed in Italy by artists, Hellenic and Italian, trained in Greek methods and often possessing great technical dexterity, if seldom much of the true Greek spirit. Not a few names of earlier and later Greek-Roman sculptors are given by old writers,¹ but so little is known for certain about their works, especially as they seem to have frequently put their names on works by no means of their own design, that it will be well to confine our attention to what extant sculptures of the Imperial era may seem of real importance. These comprise most of the very numerous so-called Greek statues that we possess—for very few indeed of these are originals; they are copies, often marble copies of bronze originals, not seldom showing a wonderful technical skill. Such copies, and also free imitations, were turned out in great quantities by Hellenistic sculptors, who with their Italian pupils founded lucrative workshops in Rome, and doubtless in cities of Magna Graecia, and perhaps at Athens and elsewhere; and to these *scholae Graecae* European art owes a debt scarcely less than that owed by our literature to the Greek scholars of

¹ Arcesilaus and Pasiteles of Magna Graecia worked in Rome in the days of Caesar. Stephanos was pupil of Pasiteles, and his pupil Menelaus is said to have made the *Orestes and Electra* (p. 156). Coponius and Decius seem to have been Roman sculptors. The latter, says Pliny, made colossal statues. But Zenodorus is named as the maker of the colossus of Nero.

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Alexandria.¹ Moreover the idealizing Greek manner, Greek grace, and Greek perfection of technique were regarded by the more highly educated Romans of the Empire as indispensable in sculpture, so that even when the subject is genuinely Roman (*e.g.*, in statues of Augustus, Nerva, 'Agrippina,' and also in many statues, busts, and reliefs of Antinous, Hadrian's Bithynian favourite) it is treated in such a manner as to give the general effect of a Greek work.²

But despite the favour of the cultured and the rich, despite the patronage and zeal of Hadrian himself, Greek influence did not have it all its own way in Rome. The realistic and practical Roman character, already noted in connexion with Etruscan and Republican art, found idealized portraiture and personifications insipid; it valued sculpture mainly as a means for producing striking and exact *simulacra* of great Romans—intensely personal and individual portraits—and for exhibiting realistic representations of their triumphs and other great national events. Hence we have among the relics of this era many portrait busts (*e.g.*, the great collections in the Sala dei Busti Imperiali on the Capitol) and some fine statues (as that of M. Aurelius on horseback) and a number of historical reliefs, of which those on the Arch of Titus, depicting his coronation, his victory, and his triumphal ascent of the Sacred Slope with the spoils of Jerusalem, are perhaps the finest. They are evidently by some very skilful master of the Graeco-Roman school, who possibly designed also the dignified and beautiful reliefs for Trajan's Arch at Benevento, but certainly not the multitudinous scenes of the enormous spiral of reliefs on Trajan's Column, which are of quite another style and, however wonderful and interesting they are, and however artistically fine parts of them may be, contain much that is very inferior both in design and in execution—much that seems to be an early harbinger of Constantinian degeneracy.

¹ Among the essentially Hellenistic products of Rome in the Imperial era are many sculptured personifications—*e.g.*, Fortuna, winged Victories, cities, nations, rivers, etc. Of these the famous *Victory of Brescia* and the so-called *Marforio* (Capitol Museum) and the *Germania* or *Thusnelda* (Loggia of Orcagna) may be mentioned.

² In statues of Antinous, etc., we find (as in the case of Alexander the Great) the guise and attributes of a god or hero. Such 'heroic' statues were called *statuae achilleae*, as distinguished from ordinary *simulacra iconica*.

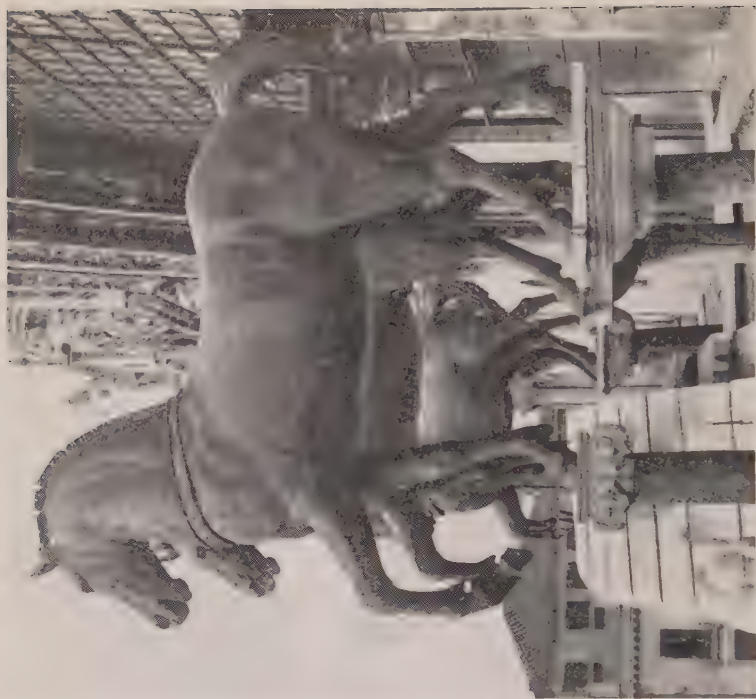


139. MARCUS AURELIUS
Capitoline Museum
Photo Brogi



140. EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS

Rome, Capitol
Photo Brizzi



141. THE HORSES OF ST MARK'S

Venice
Photo Bregi

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

Most of the innumerable classic sculptures that fill our galleries were produced in the Imperial era; many date from the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines, A.D. 117-180. Leaving aside the very numerous copies of Greek master-works, the originals of which have been discussed in a former chapter, we still have a great number of specimens, some treated in the Greek and others more in the native Roman fashion, as has been explained. Of the purely Greek style Fig. 145 gives a fine example.

(1) Statues

Augustus (Vatican) as Emperor giving a harangue (*adlocutio*) to his army: a 'heroic' statue and *loricata*; Greek influence conspicuous in the traces of *colour*, the richly figured cuirass (reminding one of descriptions by Homer and Virgil), and the Cupid—alluding to descent from Venus (?); but genuinely Roman realism in the virile, commanding face. Regarded as the finest of extant Roman statues. (Fig. 126.)

Livia (?) (Naples. Found at Pompeii). *Agrippa* (Venice—a nude statue, as Hercules). *Tiberius* (Louvre—another colossal seated figure in Vatican). *Titus* (Vatican). *Nerva* (Vatican, seated statue; Naples, as Jupiter, but realistic portrait). *Fortuna* (Vatican—standing figure with rudder and cornucopia, found at Ostia; the head adventitious. See Fig. 99). *Pudicitia* (Vatican). The gilt-bronze *Victory of Brescia*, reminiscent of the *Venus of Melos*, and perhaps genuine Greek (Fig. 144). In spite of the resemblance to the *Victory of Trajan's Column*, she has lately been deprived of her shield and placed imaginatively in a chariot. *Antinous*—numerous statues; the finest in the museums of the Capitol, Vatican, and Naples. All Hellenistic in sentiment and execution; mostly idealized, sometimes deified, or 'heroic.'

Agrippina (the Elder or Younger). Several exceedingly graceful half-recumbent figures of a Roman lady (Uffizi; Capitol; Villa Albani) are given these names, although to judge from the coiffure, it is said, they must be of the Antonine era (Fig. 138). They are indubitably Hellenistic in style. The same may be said of the well-known bust called *Clytie* (British Museum), sometimes regarded as Antonia, wife of Drusus.

Lucius Verus—a 'heroic' nude figure ('*achillea*') with a globe and Victory in the hand (Vatican).

Marcus Aurelius—bronzen (once gilt) equestrian statue. During the Middle Ages stood in front of the Lateran and spared by iconoclasts because believed to be of Constantine the Great. A very fine work, though the horse is said to have defects. Set up in the piazza of the Capitol by Michelangelo, whose pedestal, much lower than usual in post-classical equestrian statues, shows off the rider no less advantageously than the horse.

The Horses of St Mark's (Venice). Gilt-bronze. Said to have stood originally on the triumphal arch of Nero. Almost certainly transported to Constantinople by Constantine; thence brought to Venice by the ruthless 'Latin Crusaders' in 1204 (*Medieval Italy*, p. 456).

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As a proof of the amazing degeneracy of art in the age of Constantine may be mentioned the statue of this Emperor in the portico of S. Giovanni in Laterano.

(2) Busts

Busts of this era are legion. Among the best are—besides perhaps the *Caesar* and *Cicero* given under Republican sculpture—*The Young Augustus* (Vatican); *Agrippina* (Capitol); *Vitellius* (Vienna); *Vespasian* (Naples); *Nerva* (Vatican and Louvre); *Trajan* (Vatican); *Hadrian* (British Museum); *Youthful M. Aurelius* (Capitol); *Commodus*, as *Hercules* (Capitol); *Sept. Severus* (Munich); *Caracalla* (Naples). A powerful, realistic bronze bust of a Ruskin-like ‘intellectualist’ (Naples) generally called *Seneca* is sometimes asserted to be Alexandrian work and to represent an Alexandrian poet.

(3) Reliefs

The chief of these have been already noted in connexion with triumphal arches and columns. Roman reliefs are mostly monumental, not depicting, as the reliefs of the Parthenon and the great altar of Pergamon, battles of giants, centaurs, Amazons, and suchlike mythological scenes, but rather, as ancient Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs, commemorating national triumphs. One of the finest Roman works of monumental sculpture was probably the *Altar of Peace (Ara Pacis)* set up (9 B.C.) in the Campus Martius—half-way down the modern Corso—by Augustus, or the Senate, after his ‘pacification’ of Germany, Gaul, and Spain. Its motive may, I think, have been borrowed from the Parthenon frieze. It depicted a procession and sacrificial ceremonies. Some very beautiful relics of it may be seen in Rome (Nat. Museum and Villa Medici) and in Florence (Uffizi).

In relief sculpture a perfection of dignity and beauty is attainable in its kind unique and not to be found in statuary or in painting, which have possibilities of a different nature. A certain measure of the exquisite beauty and dignity—in conception and outline—of ancient Greek relief sculpture, together with very great skill in composition, modelling, and the use of various planes and effects of perspective, may be noted in the best Roman reliefs, such as those of the *Ara Pacis* and of the Arches of Titus and of Trajan. On Trajan’s Column we find some very beautiful and dignified figures, such as that of Victory writing on a shield, but many of the reliefs are clumsy and artless, reminding one of medieval carvings before the making of the Pisan pulpit. The reliefs of the Column of M. Aurelius show still less beauty and dignity, and are also deficient in the dramatic vigour which those of Trajan’s Column certainly possess. In the reign of M. Aurelius there were however also sculptors who worked in the Greek style, and could produce fair, if rather faint, reminiscences of Greek grace and dignity. It is most interesting, and at the same time rather painful, to contemplate the Arch of Constantine, near the Colosseum. This arch of the first Christian Emperor is probably to a great extent a reconstruction of a demolished arch of his pagan but noble predecessor Trajan, or the philosophic M. Aurelius, while a glance at the newer reliefs will suffice to show the almost incredible degeneracy that had taken place in regard to art during the interval A.D. 110–312. The



142. AUGUSTUS AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS
From the Ara Pacis. Florence, *Uffizi*



143. RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS, ROME
Photos Brogi



144. THE SO-CALLED VICTORY OF BRESCIA
The shield is modern. She may be driving a chariot
Photo Alinari



145. BACCHUS

Late imitation of Greek sculpture. See p. 169

In court of 'House of the Vettii,' Pompeii

Photo Alinari

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

rudeness and grotesqueness displayed by the Constantinian sculptor in his attempt to depict Constantine's victory by the Milvian Bridge (a victory known to many from the fresco in the Vatican Stanze) are medieval, whereas enough of the *earlier* sculptures (from the age of Trajan) can be seen to show that the artist at least recognized and tried to imitate some of the supreme qualities of Greek art.

(4) Sarcophagi

Etruscan terra-cotta and stone sarcophagi with their curious mythological reliefs have been described, as well as the ancient Roman sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus (c. 298 B.C.), which shows no sculptured figures but merely a dignified architectural (Doric) design. When later, about the age of the Antonines, the fashion of cremation had died out and the demand for splendid marble and granite receptacles had revived, many sarcophagi, finely sculptured with Greek mythological scenes, were produced.¹ Of those that are extant in museums, ancient churches, cloisters, and crypts, not a few owe their preservation to the fact that after the official recognition of Christianity, when the Catacombs were no longer used for secret burial and when sculptors had become rare and skillless, the old sarcophagi found in demolished 'unconverted' pagan temples and tombs were emptied of their contents and, after due sanctification, were 'converted' to Christian use, and are sometimes so Christianized by alterations and additions as to be easily mistaken for original 'old Christian' work. One of the finest extant Roman sarcophagi (of Hadrian's era) proved most important for the evolution of the great school of Italian sculpture. It is the celebrated *Hippolytus and Phaedra Sarcophagus*, one of many still to be seen in the Campo Santo of Pisa. About A.D. 1076 it was used to receive the body of Beatrice, mother of the famous Countess Matilda, and a century later it was used by Niccolò Pisano as his model when he was designing that Pisan pulpit of his from which, as an old writer says, 'issued forth, as from an Ark, all the great sculptors of Tuscany.'

Painting and Mosaics

From about A.D. 150 until the 'Peace of the Church' was proclaimed by Constantine in his famous Milan Edict (A.D. 313) were being produced, contemporaneously with all that we have been considering, not a few paintings, mostly of a rudimentary character, but of very great interest, seeing that they contained the germ from which was primarily evolved all the vast growth of medieval and modern Christian pictorial art. These paintings, somewhat like those of Pompeii, have

¹ Also sometimes, as in Greek *stelae*, scenes from ordinary life, *e.g.*, a child with its goat-chaise (Louvre), and a baker at his work—reminding one of Egyptian monuments. The great sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum—perhaps of Alex. Severus (c. A.D. 223)—is a good example of decadent classical reliefs. See also the huge so-called Sarcophagus of Constantine, Fig. 147.

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survived because, being subterranean, they were preserved from destructive agencies both of nature and of vandalism.

But it will be better to treat these Catacomb paintings in direct connexion with that new art which, after the final establishment of Christianity as the State religion (about the time of Theodosius the Catholic), began to take the place of the art of pagan times; and meanwhile a few last words should be said about this pagan art, now doomed to extinction.

Considering the rarity of the relics, we have already noted somewhat fully Hellenistic pictorial art, especially the work of the Alexandrian school, and have seen that whatever has been discovered in Italy in the way of so-called 'Roman' paintings and mosaics is almost exclusively Hellenistic in design and probably also in execution.¹ In the case of paintings and mosaics it is still more difficult than in that of the far more numerous sculptures to discriminate genuine Roman work, but some of the more remarkable wall-paintings and mosaics discovered at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Boscoreale have been already mentioned as copied, perhaps by Italian artists, from ancient Greek masterpieces. Little besides these exists except of a decorative character; but now and then we find realistic portraits of Romans (such as the Pompeian fresco, now at Naples, representing P. Proculus and his wife) and realistic and sometimes clumsily designed pictures of ordinary life—scenes of the street, the market-place, the wine-shop, the amphitheatre, etc. These seem to be the work of local (Italian) artists; and there are also wall-paintings depicting scenery—flowery, bird-frequented woods and gardens, very unlike the vineyards and Cupids, etc., of classic art such as one sees in the mosaics of S. Costanza. A well-preserved example of such Roman naturalism is to be seen in the Villa of Livia, the ruins of which, dating from early Imperial days—for she was the wife of Augustus—lie in the Tiber valley (*ad Gallinas*) some ten miles north of Rome.

¹ Campania was naturally under the influence of the Hellenistic (Alexandrian) art of the Greek cities of South Italy. Herculaneum was especially a centre of Greek culture. Among the very rare older paintings that seem Roman in conception (though Greek in technique) are some tomb-frescos found on the Esquiline (now in the Capitoline Museum) which some date back to the end of the third century B.C.



146. ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AND 'META SUDANS,' ROME

Photo Brogi



147. SARCOPHAGUS OF CONSTANTINE OR HIS DAUGHTER

Made of red porphyry. See pp. 171 *n.* and 215 *n.*

Vatican

Photo Alinari

IMPERIAL ROME (TO A.D. 313)

The wall-paintings discovered in Rome and at Pompeii and Herculaneum frequently consist of pictures (sometimes copies of ancient Greek master-works) so framed by moulded or painted imitations of loggias, pilasters, sham doors and windows, panellings, etc., as to give the illusion of scenes viewed through open spaces, or of pictures suspended on the walls. The mural decorations also sometimes produce perspective illusions intended to make the rooms appear larger than they really were. During the last fifteen years or so of its existence—after the great earthquake of 63 and until the catastrophe of 79—much was rebuilt at Pompeii, and that much more fantastic and elaborate style of wall-painting came into fashion which is generally called ‘Pompeian.’ The general character of this late Pompeian¹ style has been described under Alexandrian Painting, for both as regards subjects and also as regards treatment (except perhaps for the curious painted architectural devices) it is indubitably Hellenistic.

Mosaics—which later became so splendid an adornment of Christian churches—were another means used by the Romans for decorating their houses, and sometimes also their public buildings, as is proved by the striking pavement-mosaic with figures of twenty-eight gladiators, found in the Baths of Caracalla and now to be seen, considerably restored, in the Lateran Museum. The ordinary Roman pavement-mosaic (*opus tessellatum* or *marmoreum sectile*—the cubes of coloured marbles or other stone being sometimes small and regular and sometimes cut to various shapes and sizes) was much used in Roman houses in all parts of the Empire, as mosaics and tiles are still used in Italy, in lieu of carpets. Sometimes these pavement-mosaics were exceedingly rich compositions, such as the famous one at Palestrina representing an inundation of the Nile (Fig. 109). Rarer are the picture-mosaics. Most of the extant specimens, such as the *Battle of Issus*, are copied from well-known Greek paintings.² In

¹ Also the walls of the Baths of Titus (or of Nero’s ‘Golden House,’ used by Titus probably when building his Baths) were decorated in this style—to judge from the imitations by Raphael and other Renaissance painters.

² See p. 132. The *Doves* is copied, it is thought, from an ancient (Pergamene) mosaic. Among fine Pompeian picture-mosaics is one of cattle attacked by a lion. At Nîmes, Lyon, and other cities of the Roman Empire are notable mosaics.

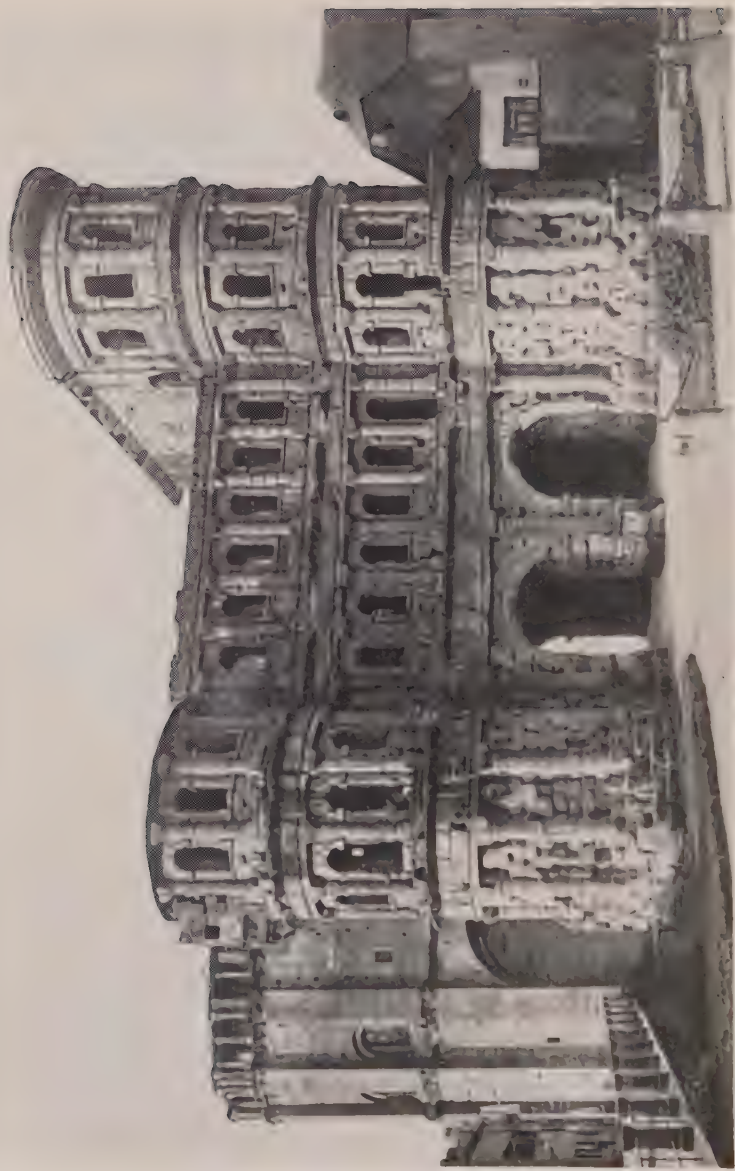
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these mosaic-pictures the inlaid pieces were shaped so as to follow the outlines of the figures and other objects to be depicted.¹ Besides marble and other coloured stone the Romans used, even in the first century of the Christian era (for it has been found at Pompeii), almost exactly the same kind of coloured glass as that employed in Byzantine and Latin Christian mosaics.

¹ Called therefore *opus vermiculatum* (wavy, worm-like work). The *opus Alexandrinum*, a rich form of the *marmoreum sectile*, was much used in Christian basilicas.



148. PROPYLAEA OF THE ACROPOLIS OF BAALBEC
Photo Bonfils



149. PORTA NIGRA AT TRÈVES
Built toward end of the Empire; unfinished
Photo F. Frith & Co., Ltd.

PART IV

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

CHAPTER I

THE CATACOMBS

FROM the age of Hadrian until that of Constantine the Romans erected many gigantic and magnificent buildings both in Italy and in distant provinces—a fact that is brought home to us by such names as Caracalla's and Diocletian's Baths, Baalbec, Palmyra, the Verona Arena, the Pont du Gard, and Constantine's Basilica. But the Arch of Constantine—the architectural merits of which may be due to an earlier arch—has shown us already how incredibly degraded the artistic sense of the Romans had become in regard to sculpture; and doubtless it was equally degraded in regard to painting.

Meanwhile in the vicinity of Rome, beneath the surface of the earth, a new species of pictorial art, destined to develop growths which were to spread over the greater part of Europe, was beginning to germinate, vitalized by a new religion, new ideals, and a new philosophy of life. In regard to technique and also external form it had at first close affinity to the decadent Graeco-Roman art, not only adopting the decorative methods of Roman *grotesche* but even assimilating much from pagan mythology.

The value of the Catacomb paintings as works of art is small, but as they are perhaps quite as important for the art-student as they are for the antiquarian or the Church historian, and in order to put the subject in its right perspective, it may be well to say a few words about the Catacombs themselves.

At first Christians enjoyed at Rome just as much contemptuous toleration as the Jews and other devotees of

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

strange Oriental religions.¹ They were allowed to excavate their 'sleeping places' (*coemeteria*) beside the pagan tombs that from the first to the third milestone outside the gates of the Aurelian walls lined the Via Appia and other great roadways. The general idea was that of an underground *columbarium*,² but, as cremation was not practised, instead of niches for cinerary urns berth-like cavities (*loculi*) were made, broad enough to hold one, or two, or even three bodies. The amount of space required by these and for passage made spacious rooms impossible except in rare cases, when a martyr or Church dignitary had a chapel-tomb, or a rich family had a special vault (*cubiculum*), where sometimes sarcophagi were placed. Narrow galleries (*ambulatoria*) were therefore excavated, and in time these formed vast labyrinths.³

That these *coemeteria* were not at first excavated as hiding-places is evident from the fact that one of the oldest, that of Domitilla (a member of the noble Flavian family), has entrances with very conspicuous portals. Moreover, that Christian rites were not proscribed in early days seems confirmed by the fact that in this same openly recognized *coemeterium* a chapel, called the Chapel of St Petronilla (supposed to have been the daughter of St Peter), has been excavated; and in passing one may note that St Peter himself is said to have held services, so to speak, in the house of his host, the Roman senator Pudens, traces of which house are possibly still visible in the most ancient church in Rome, originally the Basilica Pudenziana but now called (after a supposed daughter of Pudens) S. Pudenziana. Such toleration however soon ceased. Christians, without being aggressive, proclaimed doctrines that seemed revolutionary. By the time of Nero they were subjected to hideously inhuman treat-

¹ Horace laughs good-naturedly at the *curti Judaei* (*Sat.* i, 9, 70). Ere long the cults of Isis, Jupiter Ammon, Mithras, etc., were taken up as fashionable fads. 'The Orontes discharged itself into the Tiber,' as Juvenal says. But Christianity, though it made converts in the highest ranks, had qualities that deterred faddists and soon excited proscription.

² Excavation was doubtless cheaper than building, and perhaps common and unsightly overground tombs were not allowed.

³ The total length of the Roman catacombs is about 560 miles. Catacombs exist also near Naples, Syracuse, Alexandria, and elsewhere. The name was first used about 1400, when the chief, or only, cemetery (S. Sebastiano) still open and visited by pilgrims was near some quarries (?) called *Catacumbae*.

THE CATACOMBS

ment¹ and, with intervals of remission, were persecuted ever more fiercely, until shortly before the accession of Constantine an attempt was made by Diocletian to exterminate them root and branch (A.D. 303). During the third century, and also after Diocletian had ordered their closure, the Catacombs became very greatly extended as subterranean hiding-places, but in their labyrinthine recesses many fugitives were discovered and slain and many others arrested and led away to martyrdom in the Colosseum or elsewhere.

After the 'Peace of the Church,' proclaimed by Constantine at Milan in 313, burial in the Catacombs was gradually given up, and by 410 it had ceased. When pilgrims began to visit the ancient Christian cemeteries some of the Catacombs were adorned with new inscriptions and paintings, and openings were made to admit the light. Enormous quantities of bodies and loose bones were carried off by pilgrims and by Christian barbarian invaders and exported to all parts of Christendom, labelled with the names of early saints and martyrs. (For the almost incredible mania of relic-hunting and the exportation of ancient corpses see *Medieval Italy*, pp. 70, 390.) Innumerable bodies were also transferred to the crypts of churches in Rome. Thus twenty-eight cartloads were deposited in the Pantheon in A.D. 609, and 2300 bodies of martyrs were placed in the crypt of S. Prassede in A.D. 817. In course of time all the Catacombs except those under the church of S. Sebastiano were entirely forgotten. About 1630 Ant. Bosio of Malta explored and described a certain number of them. In our days Rossi, Wilpert, Lanciani, and others have greatly enlarged our knowledge of the subject.

Several stages are observable in the development of Catacomb paintings. The earliest (beginning toward the end of the first century) shows pure decoration, similar to the Graeco-Roman—vines, sprays, flowers, birds, masks, etc. Soon however appear Jewish and other Oriental symbols, adapted to Christian ideas—the dove (of the Ark?), and the anchor, and the peacock, intimating hope² and faith

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.* 15, 44) describes their tortures in the great Circus, on the site of the future St Peter's basilica.

² The dove (turtle?) was used later to indicate a soul in bliss. Doves are also found in connexion with symbolical pictures of Cupid and Psyche (e.g., in the Catacomb of St Callistus).

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

in immortality ; and the vine and its branches begin to have a Biblical signification. Then we find a free use of pagan mythological subjects and personages,¹ *e.g.*, Orpheus, the great Healer and Enchanter, whose music charms all nature, a symbol of Christ, or Hermes Kriophoros (Mercury carrying a ram) as a symbol of the Good Shepherd, or Helios (the sun) indicating God. And in connexion with such symbolical figures should be mentioned the *fish*, or rather the Greek word for a fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ), the letters of which were made to denote words meaning ‘ Jesus Christ, God’s Son, Saviour.’ Then, in the second century, Biblical subjects and persons began to be much more generally introduced. It seems as if the earlier decorative painting and the sometimes rather obscure symbolism by means of classical subjects (which would appeal only to the highly educated) were now gradually abandoned in order to place before the eyes of the faithful larger and more distinct representations of Scriptural events and characters, those of the Old Testament being used with symbolical allusion to Gospel history and important doctrines of the Church. The transition to this purely Christian style is shown by a few paintings, mostly in a very faded state, found on the walls and ceilings of catacombs (*e.g.*, those of St Callistus and Lucina) in which some classical symbol, such as Orpheus or Hermes Kriophoros, holds the centre and is surrounded by such subjects as Moses striking the rock, Daniel and the lions, David with his sling, etc., and by *orantes*—*i.e.*, figures in the act of prayer, with elevated open hands, symbolic of souls in bliss.

The one all-important doctrine of the early Church was that of Eternal Life—of Paradise assured to the believer by the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. We find accordingly that most of the Biblical subjects chosen by Catacomb painters are symbolical of salvation—such as Noah and his ark, Moses and the rock, Jonah and the whale, Abraham’s prevented sacrifice, the three children in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lions’ den, the raising of Lazarus ; and in the Callistus Catacomb is an interesting picture of Paradise, with

¹ The adaptation by the early Christians of pagan mythology and even pagan rites offers a very remarkable contrast to the medieval horror of classical art and literature as exemplified in such characters as Gregory the Great. The Renaissance introduced another phase.

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orantes, peacocks, doves, etc. But besides such symbolical pictures there are also purely realistic scenes, *e.g.*, the visit of the Magi, the Baptism, various miracles, and the Last Supper.

It is noticeable that, whether from a Greek-like repugnance to painful subjects in art¹ or because joy at the thought of Paradise and reunion caused the Atonement and the Passion to affect them far less profoundly than they affected more ascetic or more sensational natures in later days, there is to be found in the Catacombs no representation of the Crucifixion, nor of any martyrdom or massacre—subjects which afterward, perhaps in consequence of Lombard and other Northern influences, became so common in Italian painting.

From the art-student's point of view perhaps the most interesting of all Catacomb paintings are those few which seem to be (more than early Christian mosaics) the direct precursors of later masterpieces of Italian art. There is in the Catacomb of St Priscilla a Madonna holding the Child on her lap and listening to Isaiah, who, with a scroll of prophecy in his left hand, is pointing with his right to a star (Fig. 151). The painting dates from the second century, and is by far the most ancient 'Madonna and Child' known. The motive occurs in a later painting in the Domitilla Catacomb, and the Virgin appears in several *Adorations of the Magi*, etc., but it is not until the fourth century that she is represented alone with her Child.² In some Catacomb paintings of this era (as often in Byzantine art) she has uplifted and opened hands, as in the act of prayer or adoration—a motive, if not a gesture, recognizable in many a beautiful 'adoring Madonna' of later days, such as those by Andrea della Robbia and that by Filippino Lippi. The first extant attempt too to depict the scene of the Last Supper—the subject of perhaps the greatest fresco ever painted—is to be seen in the Callistus Catacomb. It dates from the second century.³ The Catacomb painters do not seem to have made any attempt to give a realistic portrait of Christ, or of the Virgin. Apparently

¹ In plastic, and probably in pictorial, art the Greeks seem to have shrunk from ugliness and pain; but Homer and the Athenian dramatists give very vivid pictures of both.

² This is said, of course, with no allusion to the beginning of 'Mariolatry.'

³ This 'breaking of bread' is perhaps an early Christian 'Love-feast' rather than actually the Last Supper. See Fig. 150.

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they had more of the Greek than of the Roman spirit and preferred the ideal to the actual.¹ The intense longing felt by many of us to possess a *Vera Icon* of Christ is a kind of feeling with which probably neither an ancient Greek nor an early Christian would have sympathized.² The Christ of the early Catacomb paintings has a youthful beardless face—a type retained even in some later Christian mosaics, *e.g.*, in S. Vitale at Ravenna; but from about the middle of the second century the face begins to assume a manly, dignified, and serious appearance; locks of hair fall copiously down to the shoulders, and a short beard is added. As we shall see, this later type appears in mosaics for the first time perhaps in the ancient church of S. Pudenziana at Rome.

Lately there has been discovered between the Porta Maggiore and the Via S. Croce a hypogeum consisting of two subterranean chambers, evidently the *coemeterium* of a wealthy Christian family. The lower, and larger, of these chambers is vaulted and has mural paintings among which are twelve figures supposed to represent the Apostles. The faces of two of these are fairly preserved, and in them we have what may be early portraits, founded perhaps on contemporary likenesses, of St Peter and St Paul. Whether these supposed portraits of the two great Apostles are of earlier date than all others known—such as those on the medallion (probably of the second century) found in the Catacomb of St Domitilla—is yet to be proved. Bricks from the tombs of this hypogeum are said to be stamped with a date equivalent to A.D. 137 and to bear the name of Domitia, mother of Marcus Aurelius. And it is of great interest that on the mosaic pavement of the lower chamber there is an inscription containing the names of several members of the family of the Aurelii, so that one might be inclined to conclude that the philosopher-Emperor Marcus Aurelius was brought up as a Christian! But the frescos may, of course, be of a subsequent age.

¹ As shown in the difference between Greek and Roman portrait statues and busts. Michelangelo in his monumental statues of the later Medici princes disdained to produce actual portraits. But that may have been because he was unwilling to perpetuate their detested features.

² Nothing in poetry is more touching and beautiful than Dante's lines in which he makes us share the feelings of the pilgrim (the *Roméo*) gazing at the *Veronica* (*Par.* xxxi).



150. A CHRISTIAN EUCHARISTIC FEAST
From the Catacomb of St Callistus

151. VIRGIN AND CHILD
With Isaiah pointing to the star as heralding the advent of the Messiah
From the Catacomb of St Priscilla
From Mgr Wilpert's *Malereien der Katakomben Roms*



152. NAVE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICA

Rome, S. Maria Antiqua

Photo Brogi



153. ANCIENT CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS

Third or fourth century. Found in S. Maria Antiqua

Photo Brogi

CHAPTER II

EARLY BASILICAS (c. 300-600)

IN the three centuries or so between Constantine the Great and the coming of the Lombards by far the most important fact in the evolution of European art was the building and adornment of Christian churches, baptisteries, and mausoleums. I shall therefore describe at some length the characteristics of early Christian architecture and give a list of the chief Italian basilicas and other such buildings of this era. But contemporaneously with the rise of basilican architecture in Italy another exceedingly fine type of Christian church was developed in the so-called Eastern Roman Empire, and was called after that city which for a thousand years had borne the name of Byzantium, but which now, being made the new metropolis of the world, exchanged it for that of 'The City of Constantine.' This Byzantine architecture will therefore—though it lasted much longer—have to be considered side by side with the basilican, and will form the subject of Chapter III. Then in the fourth chapter we shall consider the mosaics that still adorn basilicas and later medieval buildings, and in the fifth give an account of painting and sculpture, Italian and Byzantine, down to and past the era of Early Romanesque.

Of late years the theory that the earliest churches derived their form and name from pagan 'basilicas,' and that probably some of these great public buildings were assigned to the Christians as their first public places of assembly and worship, has been questioned. There seems to be no proof that any such building was converted into a church,¹

¹ One possible exception to this may be the little church S. Maria Antiqua, excavated some twenty-two years ago on the north of the Palatine. It was once apparently the official reception hall, or the library, of the palace, or temple, of Augustus. The general plan is that of the great pagan basilicas, with nave, aisles, and tribune. But it was evidently not given over as a Christian church till after the Peace. The frescos are seventh century and partly Byzantine.

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and a rival theory has been started on the ground that at first the Christians at Rome held their 'Love-feasts' and devotions in private houses, as St Peter is supposed to have done in the house of his host, the senator Pudens. The *atrium* (forecourt) of the early Christian churches with the fountain (*cantbarus*) in its middle and the surrounding colonnades was, it is said, copied from the atrium of larger Roman houses, and the general plan of the body of the church took its form from the inner court (*peristyle*) and hall (*tablinum*) of a Roman house, and the position of the Christian altar—or the eucharistic tripod—was determined by that of the altar of the household gods. Now, it may be true that these were modifying influences, but there can be no doubt that the pagan basilica, with its naves (or nave and two or four aisles) and its rows of columns and its apses and its triforium and its raised podium and its timber roof and coffered ceiling, must have been the model from which the early Christian architects adopted the main features of their vast and magnificent churches, which were known, apparently from the first, as 'basilicas.'¹

The typical Christian basilica is an oblong rectangular edifice, externally plain and unattractive (external mosaics not having been used till about the eleventh century), thus differing essentially from the ancient Greek and Roman temple. Internally it was divided into nave and aisles by rows of columns—often magnificent marble or granite columns derived from ancient temples or other buildings. The roofs were of wood, the spaces between the beams being boarded and forming hollow *lacunaria*, while the greater basilicas had panelled and finely ornamented ceilings like that of the pagan Basilica Ulpia.² The roof of the nave rests on walls of considerable height borne by the architraves, or arches, of the nave columns, or (as in the cases of S. Lorenzo and S. Agnese fuori) on the smaller colonnades of galleries

¹ The word *basilica* is sometimes explained as 'the King's House,' equivalent to *Kyriakon* ('the Lord's House') or 'Church.' A subterranean (pagan) building of the first century A.D. almost identical in plan with a Christian basilica has lately been excavated near the Porta Maggiore. This alone is considered enough to upset the 'house theory.'

[] ² Some smaller basilicas have no ceiling. Thus in S. Lorenzo fuori the open timber roof is now gaily painted. Even S. Paolo fuori had in early days no ceiling.

EARLY BASILICAS

above the aisles. As in modern churches with clerestory, these walls, as well as the exterior walls, are often pierced by windows; they are also often decorated inside with frescos or mosaics.

The nave is terminated by the *triumphal arch*, beneath and behind which is the *presbytery*, consisting of choir, tribune, and semicircular apse. The position of the chief altar varies. It is either on the elevated floor under the apse and in front of the episcopal throne and other seats (*subsellia*, used by the judges in the pagan basilicas) or else, as in the old St Peter's, in S. Maria Maggiore, the Lateran basilica, etc., on a lower level at the end of the nave. In the latter case this central 'high' altar, which is usually over-canopied by a great baldacchino (*tabernacolo*), is directly over the *confessio*, i.e., the crypt in which lie the relics of the saint in whose honour the church was built. The choir with its two pulpits (*ambones*), in some of the oldest basilicas (e.g., in S. Clemente, where the choir is the original one of the lower church, perhaps of about A.D. 500), is a rectangular space surrounded by a marble screen located in the nave and extending under the triumphal arch. Even some of the earliest basilicas (e.g., the old St Peter's and S. Paolo fuori) had the rudiments of a transept, the later development of which converted the ground-plan of the basilica into a Latin cross. In front of the church, as a forecourt to shut off noise and to serve as an assembly-place for worshippers and pilgrims, was sometimes a cloistered atrium, with a fountain in its middle for ablution. A fine specimen is that of S. Ambrogio at Milan, the only part of the old basilica still remaining (Fig. 184). Although more than once rebuilt it has probably retained the chief features of the original, erected by St Ambrose about A.D. 380. The great atrium of old St Peter's (the so-called *Paradiso*) was paved with white marble and surrounded by buildings and colonnades. Its fountain was later surmounted by the huge bronzen pine-cone mentioned by Dante and still to be seen in the Vatican garden. In Eastern basilicas instead of the atrium was used a portico, or vestibule (*νάρθηξ*), where penitents and other *profani* were allowed to assemble. Examples of a narthex are afforded by the vestibule of St Mark's at Venice and by the Ravenna basilicas.

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Bell-towers (*campanili*) were added to basilicas in later days, perhaps first about A.D. 600.¹ The first were cylindrical. Two fine specimens exist at Ravenna.

The following are, or were, the chief early basilicas. The first seven were regarded by pilgrims as especially the Seven Churches of Rome. The first five were the 'patriarchal' churches, their priest being the Pope himself.

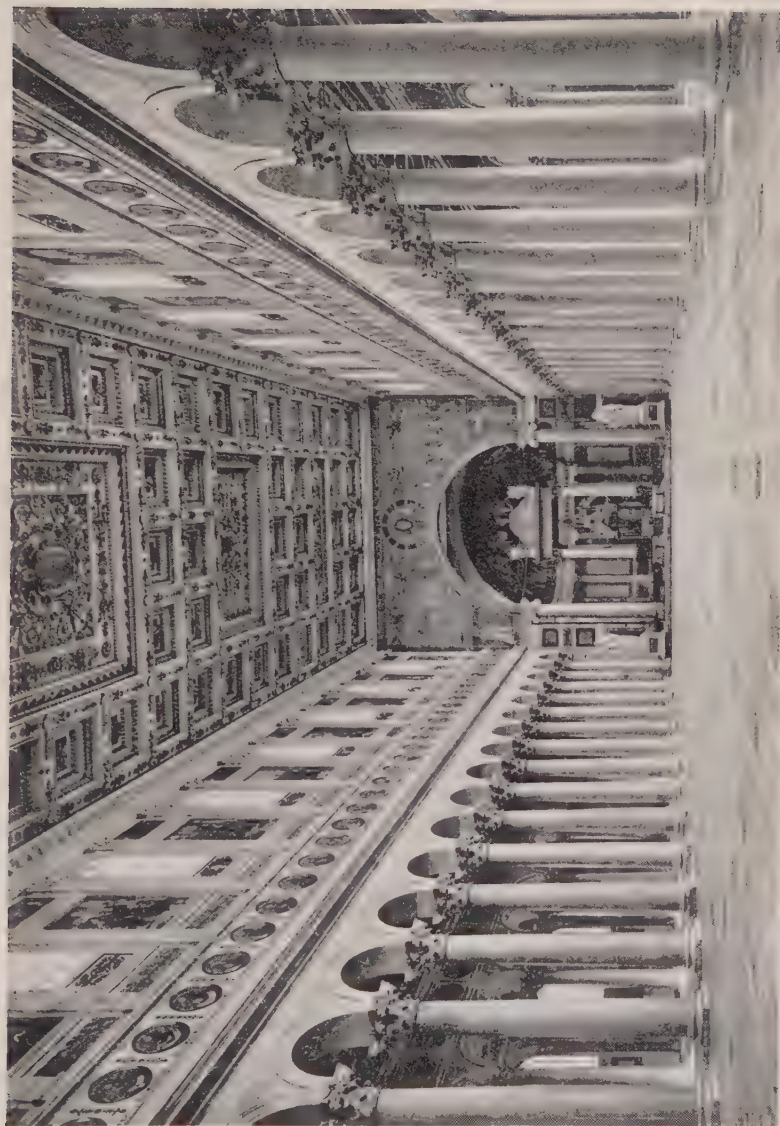
(1) The old *S. Pietro in Vaticano*,² which existed until the days of Bramante and Pope Julius II (c. 1506) and was perhaps not wholly demolished when in 1517 Raphael painted his *Incendio*, in which the façade is represented, was, according to tradition, the greatest of the basilicas founded by Constantine the Great at the request of the famous Silvester, twentieth Bishop of Rome. It was built over the grave of St Peter and covered a part of the great Circus of Nero, where the Apostle was believed to have been crucified. It had four aisles and a short transept. The nave columns bore architraves and the aisle columns arches. The whole building was surrounded by chapels, and hostels for ecclesiastics and pilgrims, and the atrium (described above) was very large and splendid. This atrium was approached by a fine flight of marble stairs. A supposed relic of the old basilica is the white marble spiral column found (1595) during the building of the new St Peter's. Tradition asserts that it came from the Temple of Jerusalem; but the vine-foliage and Cupids of the capital seem to denote classical origin. It served as a model (1633) for Bernini's bronzen pillars of the huge baldacchino over the high altar.

(2) *S. Giovanni in Laterano*. The first basilica was built in or near the great palace that was the residence of the Bishops and Popes of Rome until the removal to Avignon. This palace belonged originally to Plautius Lateranus, who was put to death by Nero. Later, together with a tract of land, it formed, it is said, that famous 'Donation' of Constantine to Bishop Silvester which was, as Dante calls it, 'the mother of many a trouble.' Whether Constantine built for Silvester this basilica (called *Basilica Constantiana* or *S. Salvatoris*) is doubtful. Destroyed by earthquake in 898 it was soon after rebuilt and dedicated to the Baptist, but together with the palace was burnt down in 1308, and nothing of the original edifice seems to be recognizable in the present church. The baptistery (*S. Giovanni in Fonte*) is described later.

(3) *S. Paolo fuori le mura* is about a mile and a half outside the Aurelian walls, on the old Via Ostiensis. In A.D. 389 the Emperors Theodosius the Catholic and Valentinian II made a triumphal entry into Rome, and, on the site of a small memorial church built by Constantine over the grave of St Paul, began the erection of what was until 1823, when it was burnt to the ground, the grandest of all the ancient basilicas of Rome. Its general plan, with nave

¹ Church bells were used (e.g., at Nola in Campania) as early as about A.D. 400, but they were probably small. The large bells, for which the *campanili* were built, date from perhaps 600, or rather later.

² A description and drawing is given in *Medieval Italy* in connexion with the visits to Rome of Charles the Great (p. 293 sq.).



154. S. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA, ROME
Photo Alinari



155. S. LORENZO FUORI LE MURA, ROME

Photo Bregt

EARLY BASILICAS

and four aisles, resembled that of the pagan Basilica Ulpia. It had eighty splendid fluted columns of *pavonazzetto* and Parian marble, and many mosaics and frescos, including portraits of the popes. The only parts that survived the fire were the tribune and the triumphal arch. The vast basilica (396 × 198 feet) has been rebuilt on the old lines and with a magnificence greater than that of the original building. A richly ornamented coffered ceiling has been added. The eighty columns are now of unfluted Simpron (Baveno) granite with white marble capitals, and when the mighty colonnades of nave and aisles are illumined by the sunlight they are reflected in the splendid marble pavement as in the waters of a deep and transparent lake. The Gothic canopy under the huge baldacchino was designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, the builder of the Florentine Duomo. Many of the destroyed mosaics (including portraits of all the popes) are replaced by new. On the triumphal arch the old mosaics, put up by the command of the celebrated Galla Placidia (pp. 187, 190), still exist, largely restored.

(4) *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, about a mile outside Rome, on the Via Tiburtina, erected by Constantine on the site of the martyrdom of St Lawrence, was a basilica with two aisles. In 578 it was rebuilt by Pope Pelagius II. Of the nave of this building remain ten most lovely Corinthian columns of fluted *pavonazzetto* and two of Hymettus marble, which support the smaller columns of galleries—a system found also in S. Agnese. The upper portions of the old nave columns now flank the elevated presbytery of a later church built by Pope Honorius III (c. 1220), the floor of which cuts them in half; but their beauty can be enjoyed by descending into the excavated aisles of the ancient basilica—where is to be found also the tomb of Pio Nono.

(5) *S. Maria Maggiore*, or *ad Nives* (so called from an old legend that a fall of snow determined its site) or *ad Praesepe* (from its possession of five boards of the Manger of Bethlehem), was erected by Pope Liberius about 352, but completely rebuilt by Sixtus III, who reigned from 432 to 440. Of this grand building (some 290 feet long), which since the twelfth century has received frequent and extensive additions and alterations, there remain the nave, with its forty-two ancient Ionic columns, mostly of Hymettus marble, and the very interesting mosaics of the nave walls, and perhaps those of the triumphal arch. It is noticeable that this basilica has the ancient architrave while in many of more ancient date (e.g., S. Clemente and S. Paolo) the columns support arches—a system which, as we shall see, had been first used in the mausoleum of Constantine's daughter. St Peter's, as we have seen, used both systems.

(6) *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, not far from the Lateran, was founded, tradition asserts, by Constantine or by his mother Helena ('St Helena') in order to deposit there a portion of the True Cross, which, together with the Inscription, had been discovered by her at Jerusalem. Reconstructions have eliminated almost every vestige of the old basilica except some ancient columns in the nave.

(7) *S. Sebastiano*, about a mile and a half from the city gate of the same name, on the Via Appia, was originally a basilica, but has been wholly reconstructed. It was one of the earliest of the Seven Churches, and much visited by pilgrims because in its vicinity were the only catacombs at that time

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

accessible. It is said to possess, under the high altar, the remains of St Sebastian, whose martyrdom took place in A.D. 270.

(8) *S. Clemente*. The original basilica, discovered in 1857 by Father Mulooly of the Irish Dominicans, to whom the present church (not far from the Colosseum) belongs, is beneath this later church. In course of centuries it had become entirely forgotten.¹ It dates from the fourth century, for it is mentioned by St Jerome as existing in A.D. 392. When the Normans under Robert Guiscard sacked Rome (1084) it was almost wholly destroyed. In 1108 the new basilica, smaller but of the same character, was erected on the filled-in ruins, and the surviving choir-screens, ambones, etc., of the old building were placed in it. The upper church, being a fairly exact copy of the lower one,² gives perhaps a more trustworthy idea of the earliest type of basilica than is given by any other Roman church, except perhaps S. Agnese. It has an atrium with an Ionic colonnade.

(9) *S. Agnese fuori le mura* (a mile and a quarter from the Porta Pia) was, it is said, founded by Constantine. Although rebuilt in the seventh century and later restored it has evidently preserved the main features of a Constantinian basilica. Its sixteen ancient columns of various marbles, some of them of wonderful beauty, bear arches, and above there are, as in S. Lorenzo fuori, triforium galleries.

(10) *S. Sabina*, on the Aventine, founded in A.D. 425, although often restored, has preserved the form of the original basilica. Its twenty-four fluted Corinthian columns of Parian or Hymettus marble belonged probably to the pagan temple (of Juno ?) on the site of which it was built. The church and adjoining papal palace were given by Pope Honorius III to St Dominic, who here founded his order (1216).

(11) Originally perhaps of basilican form but now much changed may be noted the small church of *S. Pudenziana* (traditionally the daughter of Pudens,³ St Peter's host), in which the apse with its (restored) mosaics and fourteen ancient marble columns, now built into thick and ungainly piers, dates from the fourth century. Lastly there is *S. Pietro in Vincoli*, originally the Basilica of the Empress Eudoxia, celebrated for its possession of the two chains—miraculously joined—with which St Peter was fettered (see *Medieval Italy*, p. 113) and for the wonderful *Moses* of Michelangelo. It is terribly modernized but still notable for its fine nave flanked by twenty ancient fluted Doric columns of Greek marble.

Churches of the same type as the early Roman basilicas were built in the East from the fourth to the sixth century. Old chroniclers relate that soon after the foundation of New

¹ Also below the lower church are massive walls of the Republican era and relics of edifices of Imperial times. Its frescos (ninth century, as those of S. Maria Antiqua) are of Byzantine type.

² Some of its sixteen ancient nave columns (of various types—doubtless taken from pagan temples) stand directly on the columns of the lower church, which are strengthened by masonry.

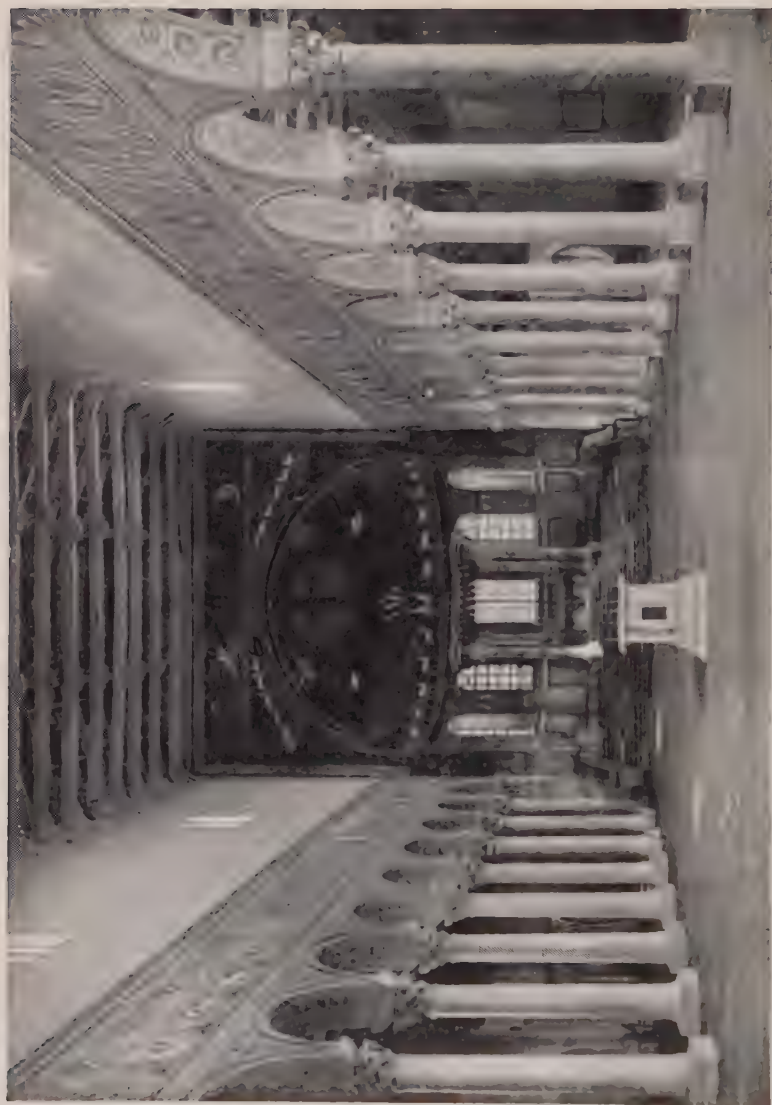
³ The original church of her sister Praxedis (Prassede) was built probably in the fifth century. In spite of reconstruction in the ninth century it retains basilican form and has still sixteen of its fine ancient granite columns.



156. BASILICA OF GRADO

Built c. 578 after the model of S. Apollinare in Classe

FIG. 156



157. S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE, RAVENNA

PIRELLA GÖTTSCHE LOWE

EARLY BASILICAS

Rome (Constantinople) the mother of Constantine, known as St Helena, visited Jerusalem, where she not only discovered, as above stated, the True Cross but erected (or induced Constantine to erect) on the site of the demolished Temple a Christian church—the original perhaps of the round Church of the Resurrection, burnt down in 1808, or of the extant Dome of the Rock (Omar's Mosque)—but anyhow probably not a Constantinian basilica.¹ There are however in Syria (*e.g.*, at Mshabak, between Antioch and Aleppo, and at Kalb-Luzeh) fine ruins of churches that were of true basilican type in their main features.

* * * * *

We now turn to **Ravenna**, which not only possesses a church of Byzantine character but is the only place besides Rome where there are still to be seen well-preserved early Christian basilicas of the Roman type. Ravenna was in A.D. 402 chosen as a refuge by the cowardly Emperor Honorius and made, for a time, the capital of the Western Roman Empire. The half-sister of Honorius, Galla Placidia, acted at Ravenna for fifteen years as regent for her son, the young Emperor Valentinian III, and built there probably several basilicas (S. Croce, S. Agata, S. Teodoro, S. Giovanni Battista—all nearly vanished) and certainly did build S. Giovanni Evangelista, for on a stormy voyage from Constantinople she vowed to build to St John 'a temple gleaming with marbles on the shore where the ship shall safely arrive'—whereupon the Saint appeared on the prow of the vessel and allayed the tempest.

About half a century later (493) Theoderic, the Ostrogoth, took Ravenna. He was an Arian,² and, probably after rebuilding S. Teodoro and converting the adjacent Roman bath into a baptistery for Arian use, he founded (*c.* 510) a fine basilica near his palace, and consecrated it to Jesus Christ. In 560 it was 'purified' by Catholics and called S. Martino in Ciel d'oro (with golden ceiling), and about 800

¹ Old writers however seem to describe it, and the earlier church at Bethlehem, as true basilicas.

² Although zealously expurgated by the Catholics the Arian cross (some-what like the Maltese) is to be found in Ravenna architecture.

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its name was changed to S. Apollinare Nuovo. The shafts of its twenty-four beautiful nave columns were brought from Rome (or Constantinople?). The capitals, of white marble carved into wind-blown acanthus foliage, are of the Oriental-Corinthian type, and are surmounted by the *pulvino* ('cushion'), a characteristic of Byzantine architecture derived evidently from the block of the old classical architrave, which, when arches began to be supported by columns, was still kept on the top of capitals and served to stilt the arch (see under S. Costanza). The celebrated mosaics of this basilica will be described later (p. 205). The atrium, as in other Ravenna and in Oriental churches, is replaced by a portico, or narthex (see p. 183). This narthex was considerably damaged in 1916 by a bomb dropped from an Austrian aeroplane.

There is three miles from Ravenna, near the spot where St Apollinaris was killed by a mob, just outside the gates of the ancient and now vanished port (Classis), another basilica dedicated to this friend of St Peter. The church S. Apollinare in Classe is in plan similar to the Nuovo, but much larger; its grand colonnades are much more beautifully proportioned, and the splendid apse with its rich mosaics forms a majestic background to the vast nave, overcanopied by its timber roof and totally empty except for an ancient marble central altar. The arches and triforium have been decorated in modern times with portraits of Ravenna prelates, etc. The marbles that once adorned the walls were carried off in 1449 by a Malatesta of Rimini. Perhaps there is no other building in the world—certainly there is no other ancient church—so impressive. Externally it has no beauty or grandeur comparable with that of a Greek temple or a Northern cathedral, although the huge round campanile standing in silent dignity amidst the water-lily-covered pools and swampy fields of the marshland haunts one's memory; but internally this great dismantled basilica is still of a beauty and majesty indescribable.

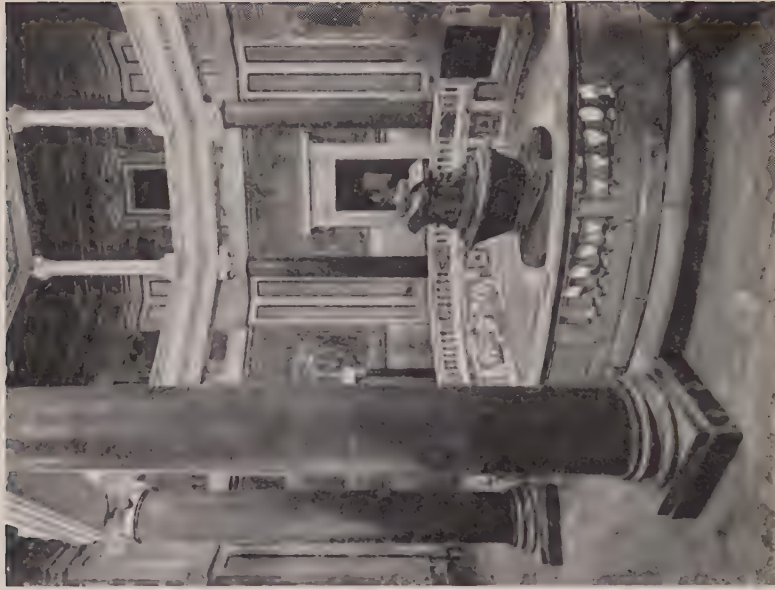


158. BAPTISTERY OF THE ORTHODOX, RAVENNA

Photo Alinari



159. MAUSOLEUM OF CONSTANTINE'S DAUGHTER, ROME
Later called church of S. Costanza



160. BAPTISTERY OF S. GIOVANNI IN LATRANO, ROME
Photo Brogi

EARLY BASILICAS

Early Round Churches and Mausoleums

There are some early Christian round and octagonal churches and baptisteries, most of which are converted or reconstructed pagan buildings.

(1) The greatest is *S. Stefano Rotondo*, on the Caelian. It was formed (about 465) from the two inner concentric circles of Ionic columns (granite and marble) of a large Roman market (the *Macellum magnum*). The outer of these two circles was filled in to form the wall of the circular church, between some of the thirty-four columns being inserted chapels. The inner ring of twenty-two columns bears a circular entablature. The wooden roof is further supported by two lofty Corinthian columns. The interior of the church offers a striking, but somewhat dreary, aspect.

(2) *S. Giovanni in Fonte*, the baptistery of the Lateran basilica (long the only Roman baptistery), is octagonal, the central portion being divided from the surrounding barrel-vaulted corridor by eight fine porphyry columns bearing an ancient entablature and surmounted by two galleries with smaller marble pillars and a wooden cupola. Under this there is the green basalt bath in which Constantine is (falsely) said to have been baptized, and in which Cola di Rienzo bathed on a certain memorable occasion.¹ As for this baptism of Constantine, although it is depicted by Raphael in a celebrated fresco and described by Gower in his *Confessio Amantis*, and although a full account is given in the ancient *Liber Pontificalis* of the splendid porphyry (?) font presented by the Emperor for the occasion, it is certainly legendary; for he was not baptized until shortly before his death, by an Arian bishop in Asia Minor. The baptistery was probably first built, about 432, by Pope Sixtus III.

(3) *S. Costanza* (near *S. Agnese*) was originally the mausoleum of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine the Great. Its mosaics will be described later. Here it is the architecture that interests us, for it offers the first example in an ancient Roman building of the column doing real work² in combination with the arch. The plan of the mausoleum is somewhat similar to that of the Lateran Baptistery, but it is circular, and instead of the ring of single columns supporting a continuous entablature there are twelve couples of columns, each pair bearing a short block of entablature. On these entablatures (as on the *pulvino* or *dosseret* of Byzantine architecture) rest the arches, which bear a massive cylindrical drum surmounted by a hemispherical cupola.

(4) The *Baptistery of the Orthodox* and the *Baptistery of the Arians*, at Ravenna, both most interesting on account of their mosaics, were converted or reconstructed (c. 450 and 510) from Roman bath-establishments. They are octagonal and domed. The first-named has in its interior walls two rows

¹ See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 40.

² In Diocletian's Villa at Spalato and in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem columns do some work, but they are not completely free.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

of massive arches, one above the other, of genuine classical Roman character. Its dome (like that of S. Vitale) is formed of terra-cotta vessels.

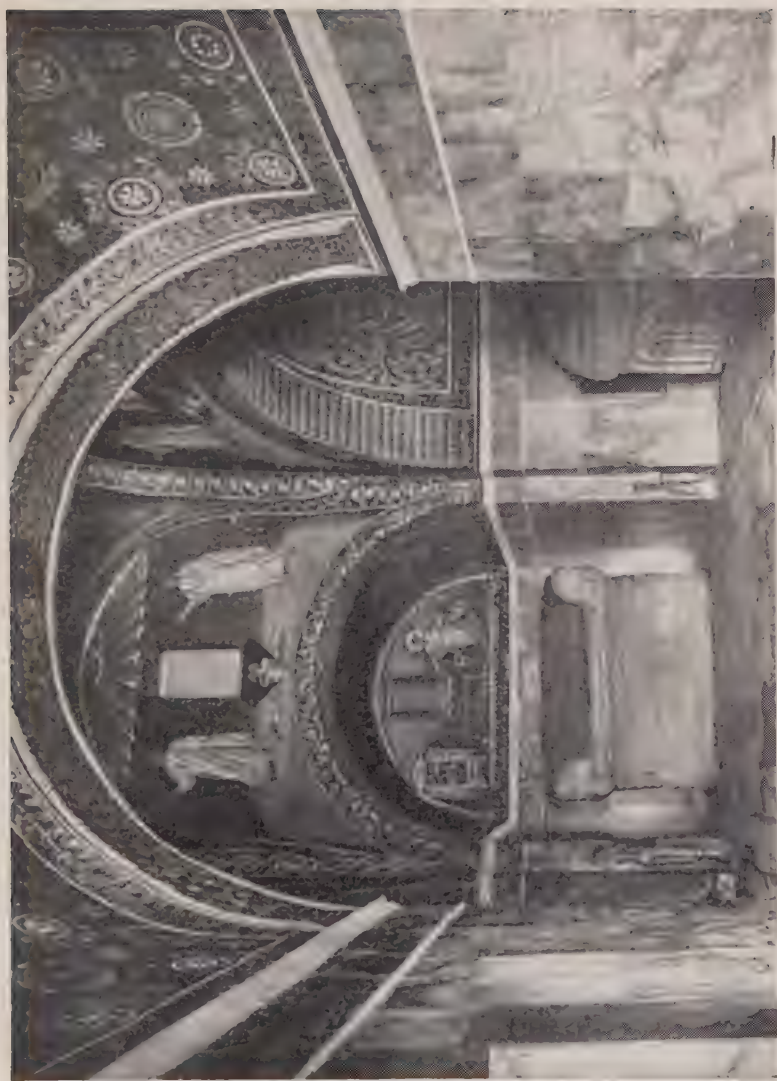
(5) The *Florentine Baptistery* is octagonal, with octagonal cupola. Its basement is probably that of an octagonal Roman bath-house, or (as the old historian Villani asserts) of the temple of Mars, patron-god of the city—about whose statue, later at the head of the Ponte Vecchio, see Dante, *Par.* xvi, 145, and my *Medieval Italy*, pp. 428–429. It was rebuilt perhaps by St Ambrose (c. 394), or his friend, St Zenobius, first Bishop of Florence, and perhaps later by Queen Theodelinda (c. 600), and again about 1200. The mosaics date from that period and later. It was the cathedral (Duomo) until 1128, when that honour was transferred to S. Salvatore or S. Reparata. Its external coating of marble dates from Romanesque times, and some of the ornamentation from the Renaissance era. For at least fourteen centuries the building (called by Dante *il mio bel San Giovanni*) has served as the one baptistery for all Catholic Florentines.

(6) The *Mausoleum of Galla Placidia*,¹ at Ravenna, very celebrated for its mosaics and for the sarcophagus of the Empress (d. 450) and those (probably) of her husband and son, both Emperors, is a small cruciform building (41 × 49 feet) with barrel vaults, massive piers, and a cupola. The main features are therefore decidedly those of classic Roman architecture, but it is important to note that the round cupola surmounts a *square* base by means of a device very similar to that of the Byzantine pendentive—for which see next chapter.

(7) The *Mausoleum of Theoderic*, at Ravenna, probably begun by himself (c. 520) and finished by his daughter, Amalasuntha, consists of a very massive ten-sided structure of two storeys surmounted by a round drum and cornice on which rests the shallow dome formed of a single mighty block of Istrian stone some thirty-four feet in diameter. A portico that surrounded the upper storey has disappeared, as well as the sarcophagus (or the cinerary urn that perhaps stood on the top of the dome) of the Arian king, whose bones or ashes were doubtless dispersed by triumphant Catholics.²

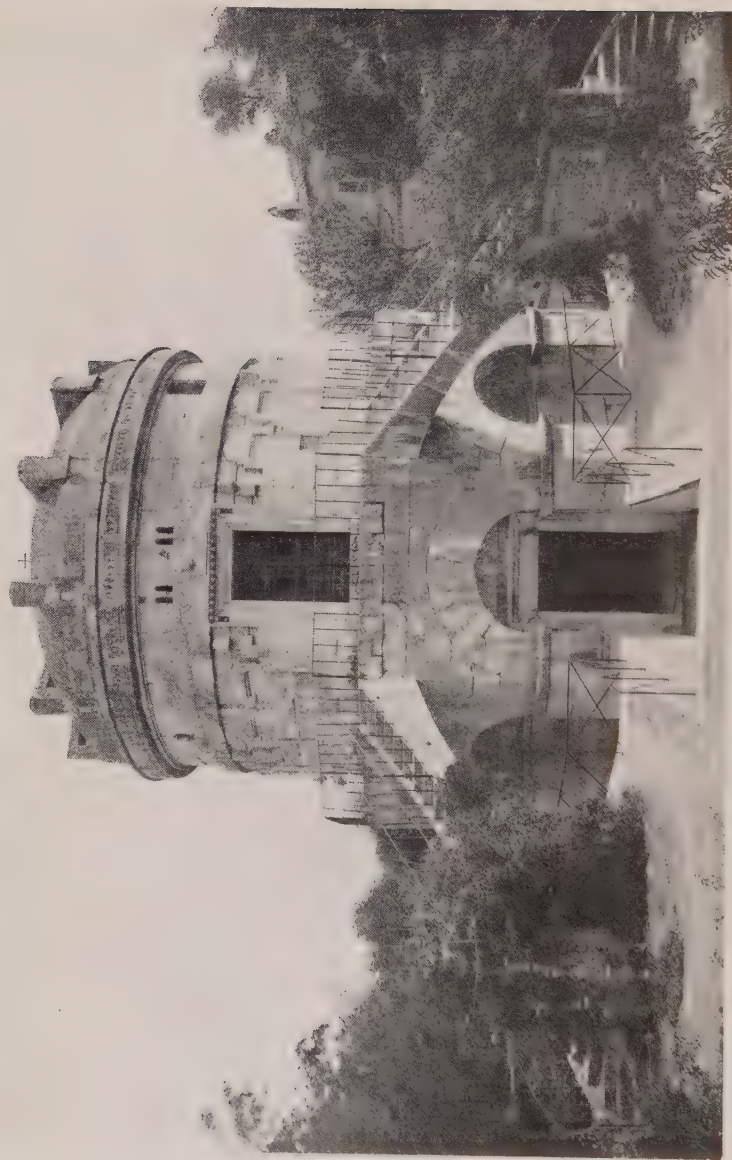
¹ For Galla Placidia see above and under S. Paolo fuori—also *Medieval Italy*, pp. 63, 85, 87; and p. 91 for the weird story of the seated body in the sarcophagus being set on fire.

² For the many palaces, churches, amphitheatres, baths, ramparts, etc., built, or rebuilt, by Theoderic see *Medieval Italy*, p. 166 sq. In the Mausoleum is apparent, as probably was in other of his now vanished palaces, etc., a tendency toward Roman architecture which accords with what is told of his love for classical art and literature.



161 MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA

Photo Alinari



162. MAUSOLEUM OF THEODERIC, RAVENNA
Photo Allinari

CHAPTER III

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

WHEN Constantine *si fece greco* (turned Greek), as Dante says, and transferred the seat of the Empire to Byzantium, that city was politically unimportant and unprepared for such a dignity, but by reason of its situation it had long been a flourishing trade centre and had probably attracted artists from the Hellenistic world and from the East. After the advent of the Roman Imperial Court doubtless many artists came also from Italy. Constantine is said to have erected in or near his new capital fourteen important churches and to have adorned his buildings with many fine marbles and works of art from Greece. Many of these churches were probably of the Roman basilican type—a type that we have noted already in the East, even in Syria and Palestine—but some at least were assuredly of Hellenistic-Oriental character and of what is known, in contrast to the basilican, as the Byzantine ‘central’ type.

It was not until some two centuries after the days of Constantine, namely during the reign, as Eastern Emperor, of the great legislator Justinian (527–565), that this new style attained its highest development.¹ These two centuries have left but few specimens, and even of the Justinian period itself there is not much extant except two superlatively

¹ These jottings may be useful. Constantine removes to Byzantium, 330; dies, 337. The Eastern and Western Empires, sometimes temporarily united, are permanently divided on the death of Theodosius, 395. Then come the barbarian invaders, *i.e.*, the Visigoths (Alaric takes Rome, 410) and the Huns (Attila, *d.* 452) and the Vandals (Gaiseric takes Rome, 455). Then the Western Empire ends with deposition of Romulus Augustulus by the barbarian Odovacar, 476. Then the Ostrogoth Theoderic takes Ravenna (493) and masters Italy; but Justinian’s generals, Belisarius and Narses, overthrow Theoderic’s successors and establish Byzantine supremacy in Italy (553) until the coming of the Lombards in 568. During this Gothic war and for long afterward Byzantine influence was strong in parts of South Italy, and although, except in Ravenna and Venice, Byzantine architecture affected Italy but little (in Rome there is scarcely a trace of it) the influence of Byzantine mosaics and painting was, as we shall see later, very considerable.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

important churches, namely S. Sophia at Constantinople and S. Vitale at Ravenna.

Let us note first the main characteristics, and then some of the chief examples, of this style that we call Byzantine, although the name is not quite satisfactory, being curiously incorrect chronologically and failing to indicate various countries (Anatolia, Syria, etc.) perhaps more important than Constantinople.¹

It was found—perhaps more in the East than in the West—that for certain ceremonies the basilica, especially when it took the form of a Latin cross by the addition of a transept, was less convenient than a church (such as S. Vitale at Ravenna, S. Lorenzo at Milan) with a circular, polygonal, or square central-domed space surrounded by pillared apse-like or square recesses (*exedrae*), above which were galleries. This is the earlier type of Byzantine church, and to this earlier type belongs S. Sophia at Constantinople, though, as we shall see, it offers rather striking divergences. After the Justinian era the form became generally that of a Greek cross with arms shortened and each covered by a cupola, while the central square space had a large dome. Thus was evolved the later, five-domed Byzantine type of which St Mark's at Venice (finished in 1094) is such a magnificent example.

In these Byzantine churches the dome played a most important part, and the erection of a great dome, especially over a space not circular, was a problem not easily solved.

Cupolas, semi-domes (apses), and even great domes were, as we have seen, not unknown in earlier Eastern architecture,² and it is just possible that the Byzantine dome was a re-creation by masters versed in Oriental archi-

¹ Nor is more satisfactory the word 'Greek,' used by Vasari and other old writers to specify what we should call Byzantine artists in the days of Cimabue and Giotto.

² Under the successors of Seleucus, Alexander the Great's general, Achaemenid Persian art (touched upon on a former occasion) was naturally much influenced by Hellenistic. Under the following dynasty of Parthian Arsacidae (250 B.C.—A.D. 226) and that of the powerful Sassanidae, who for four centuries (A.D. 226–641) defied the Roman and Byzantine Emperors, the ancient Babylonian-Assyrian and Persian and Hellenistic architectures were combined into a new and vigorous style, of which fine relics are the great ruined palaces of Ctesiphon, Ferozabad etc. A striking feature of Sassanid edifices was the (ovoid) dome, which was erected over a square space by cutting out semicircular hollows at the four corners of the square base to form supports.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

ture—such a master as that Anthemius of Tralles (in Asia Minor) who built S. Sophia for Justinian. Others again, among whom is Rivoira, a great authority on medieval architecture, opine that it was directly copied from the domes of Roman *thermae* (e.g., Caracalla's) and basilicas (e.g., Constantine's). But the Roman dome, when not monolithic, as in the case of Theoderic's mausoleum, seems to have consisted (as probably in the case of the Pantheon) of a solid mass which had been cemented together while supported by a temporary wooden cupola, and to have rested on a circular building like a lid on a pot.¹ This system was very cumbrous and expensive, and the Byzantine builders devised other methods. For instance, they sometimes constructed domes (as those of S. Vitale and the Baptistery of the Orthodox at Ravenna) out of terra-cotta vessels or pipes fitted together in spirals, and these erections they covered with plaster, thus forming cupolas very much lighter than the Roman. But not being a solid mass they exerted, of course, a strong lateral thrust and made necessary very massive piers and walls.

But there was another difficulty. The space to be covered by the dome was in the case of Byzantine buildings sometimes polygonal, but more often square—the centre of the truncated Greek cross. In S. Vitale, at Ravenna, for instance, the space is octagonal, and by an ingenious device is converted into a circular ring, on which rests the cupola: directly above each of the eight piers (*i.e.*, at every angle of the octagonal drum) is hollowed out a deep, strongly arcuate niche, by means of which the angles are eliminated and the walls, supporting themselves on and between the arches thus provided, take a circular form.

The principle is the same, but is applied far more successfully, in what is called the *pendentive* system, of which the grandest, but by no means the earliest, example is afforded by S. Sophia at Constantinople. On the four sides of a square base are erected four arches of equal height (say,

¹ Thus occasioning hardly any lateral thrust. How to counteract lateral thrust was a question that became very urgent in the case of great domes. We shall meet various solutions when we come to the huge walls and piers of Romanesque and Norman buildings and to the external buttresses of Gothic churches.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

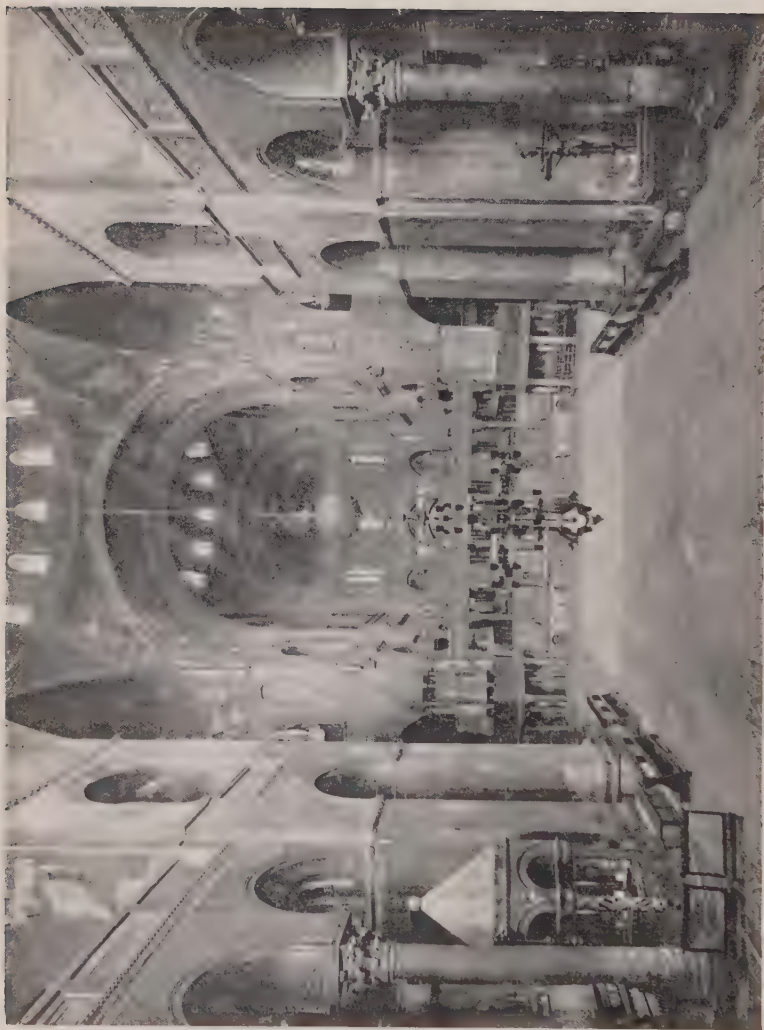
semicircles) and the spaces between these four arches are filled in up to a level with the vertices of the arches. These fittings (the pendentives), whose internal surfaces will be concave (apse-like) and whose contour will be that of a curvilinear triangle, will form by their upper curved sides a circle—evidently the circle that passes through the vertices of the four arches and is exactly above and equal to the circle inscribed in our square base. On this circular base, which is strongly supported by the arches and by the pendentives wedged in between the arches, the Byzantines built their dome, or, in later days, erected a circular drum on which the cupola was poised aloft—a system largely adopted by great dome-builders of more modern times.

A characteristic in which Byzantine architecture differs from Roman is the form of the capital. The Corinthian and Composite capitals so largely used by the Romans had comparatively little work to do—were indeed often merely decorative—and became more and more *concave*, deeply cut, with projecting and delicate foliage and overhanging abacus. The Byzantine column had often to support immense weight and therefore became more and more solidly *convex*, and was sculptured in shallow relief—indeed often had mere surface decoration. These shallow-sculptured, convex Byzantine capitals (as seen in S. Vitale and S. Sophia) take sometimes the form of a bowl or a basket, sometimes that of an inverted truncated pyramid. Their decoration consists of somewhat conventional but often exceedingly beautiful leaf and flower tracery, or of imitated network and basket-work, or deep-drilled, delicate lace-work, or exquisitely chiselled, close-lying, wind-blown foliage.¹ These capitals are generally surmounted by the pulvino (Figs. 165, 170), which not only heightens and lightens the arch, but, when it has the form of an inverted pyramid, concentrates the pressure of the superincumbent mass on the shaft of the column. Another characteristic is the use of coloured marbles sawn into thin plates, with which Byzantine buildings (not seldom of brick) were often covered internally

¹ In Solomon's Temple the capitals made by the Phœnician Hiram were sculptured with 'nets of checker-work' and 'lily-work,' as Marchese Selvatico pointed out before *The Stones of Venice* appeared.



163. ST MARK'S, VENICE—EXTERIOR
Photo Alinari



164. ST MARK'S, VENICE—INTERIOR
Photo Brog

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

and externally—a practice that, as we all know, is eloquently defended by Ruskin and certainly is capable of producing very rich and splendid effects.

The following important Byzantine buildings were erected from the fourth century until toward the end of the eleventh century, after which Byzantine art lost all vitality and originality, becoming traditional and stereotyped. Three of them, which still retain their original form and many relics of their original splendour (though much has been restored and, in one case, much disfigured by the Turks), are so beautiful and interesting that I shall describe them fully. They are S. Vitale, S. Sophia, and St Mark's.

As early as the fourth and fifth centuries¹ churches were built in the more distant parts of the Eastern Empire (Syria, for instance) as well as nearer home (*e.g.*, St George and St Demetrius at Salonica) which had the main features of the Roman Christian basilicas—aisles, apses, arches, wooden roofs, etc.—but, while possessing no domes or cupolas, they had certain Byzantine characteristics, such as the basket capital and the pulvino.

Moreover, in the further East were erected churches that derived their form, as did similar churches in Italy, from ancient Roman baths, mausoleums, etc., but possessed the genuine Byzantine (or Oriental) cupola or dome over the octagonal or square central space, which space was surrounded by four or eight apse-like and galleried recesses (*exedrae*). The earliest example of this type (*c.* 490) is probably the so-called baptistery on Mount St Simeon Stylites. It shows exactly the same device for converting by means of niches the octagon into a circular base for the dome as we have already noticed in the case of S. Vitale at Ravenna.

S. Vitale is supposed to be imitated from SS. Sergius and Bacchus, one of the earliest churches built at Constantinople

¹ For some dates of the period 330–568 see footnote, p. 191. During the next nine hundred years events that affected art were: the vast conquests of the Saracens (till about 717); the long and bitter Iconoclastic feud (628–787), which sent many Byzantine artists to Italy and ended in the triumph of the image-worshippers; the revival under Basil I and other so-called Macedonian Eastern Emperors (*c.* 850–1050), such as Porphyrogenitus, the great Maecenas of art; the visits of early Crusaders to Constantinople (*c.* 1097); the sack of that city by the Latin Crusaders and the establishment of the Latin dynasty (1204–60); the Second Golden Age of Byzantine art under the Palaeologi, till the advent of the Turks in 1453.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

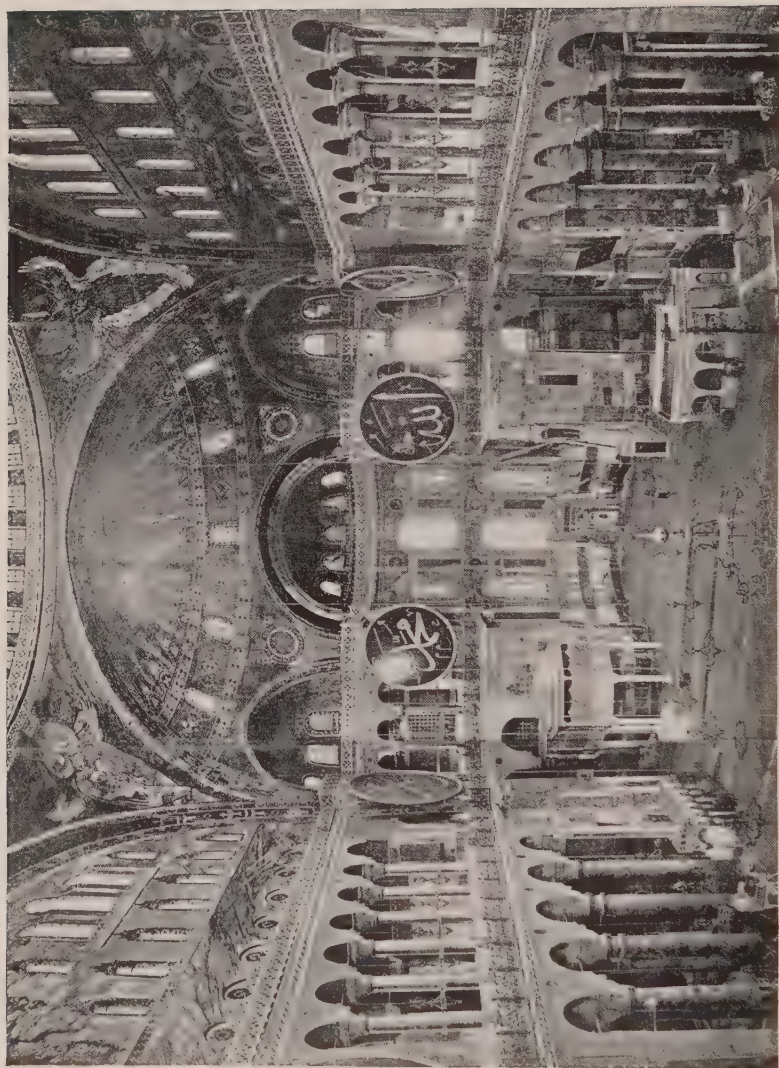
by Justinian. If this is true, Justinian must have built this church before his actual accession in 527, while still acting as adviser of his peasant-uncle Justin, for S. Vitale was begun in 526; but I think it more likely that both churches were built simultaneously and that the plans for the Ravenna church, and perhaps the workmen, were procured at Constantinople from Justinian's great architect, Anthemius. This seems probable from the fact that the very man who (as the mosaics prove) presided over the erection of S. Vitale, namely Archbishop Ecclesius, was in Constantinople, as an envoy from King Theoderic, just one year before the foundation of the church.

I have explained the plan of the building and the nature of its dome, and have shown how the central octagon formed by the eight great piers is changed into a circular drum. Our illustration (Fig. 165) is taken from one of the seven apse-like recesses (each of which has a semicircular gallery supported on two beautiful columns with characteristically Byzantine capitals and pulvini) and shows a similar exedra and a part of the deep choir which takes the place of the eighth exedra. In this choir are the famous contemporary mosaic portraits of Justinian and Theodora. Between the outside octagonal wall of the church and the central part there runs, beneath the galleries, a wide passage (ambulatory) from which project externally the afore-mentioned choir and various sacristies. Outside the octagonal edifice, not quite opposite the choir, is a large oblong portico. Such narthex, as we have already seen, usually substitutes in Oriental basilicas the Italian atrium, and is found in the two Ravenna basilicas dedicated to S. Apollinare. S. Vitale's columns, capitals, and marble-covered walls are of exquisite beauty. Much of the original decoration has disappeared, and there has been of late some rather ruthless restoration, but the general effect is still exceedingly impressive. To this effect contribute greatly the splendid mosaics, which will be considered in the next section.¹

¹ Two buildings that evidently owe their general form to S. Vitale are S. Lorenzo at Milan, octagonal with dome, built not long after the destruction of Milan by the Franks in 538, now bare and unattractive, and the Münster at Aix-la-Chapelle, very massive and severe and without any trace of the grace and splendour of its Ravenna model. It was built by Charles the Great in 796-804 and contains his tomb.



165. S. VITALE, RAVENNA
Photo Alinari



166. S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE
Photo Sebah

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

Even before the building of S. Vitale—indeed, perhaps as early as the fourth century—other attempts had been made to solve the problem finally solved by pendentives. The relics of churches at Ancyra, Myra, Nicaea, and other places in Asia Minor show shafts supporting the dome at the four angles of the square base, and these shafts sometimes are broadened and curved into something very like an elementary pendentive.

Probably the earliest application of the true principle was made in S. Sophia at Salonica (c. 500). Here the cupola did really rest on the vertices of the four arches and on the pendentives, as explained earlier in this section.

But far the vastest and the most splendid example of an early Byzantine Christian church, with a great dome poised aloft over a square central space by means of pendentives, is S. Sophia at Constantinople, built originally (532–537) for Justinian by Anthemius of Tralles (Asia Minor) and Isidorus of Miletus on the site of the church dedicated by Constantine the Great to the Holy Wisdom of God (*Hagia Sophia*). It has been several times damaged by fire. The original dome, shaken by two earthquakes, collapsed in 558, but was soon rebuilt. Since 1453 the church has been a Turkish mosque. Its plan differs from that of the octagonal Byzantine church, or the truncated Greek cross. A central square lies between four enormous piers connected by four huge arches, on the vertices of which rests the dome. The two great lateral archways are filled in with colonnades surmounted by arcaded galleries (used by women), above which are walls pierced with windows; but the two other great arches are open and disclose vast receding apses, so that there is formed by the central square and these two semicircular recesses a kind of huge oval nave, and this is prolonged at each end by further apses—all of which, together with the immense piers and arches of the side aisles and the massive external walls, counteract the enormous side-thrusts of the dome and keep all in equipoise. There is a double portico (narthex) extending across one side of the square building (about eighty yards). Outside this double portico is a colonnaded atrium, and from the interior portico nine doors give entrance into the church. The magnificent marbles of the columns

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

and wall-linings are mostly from Oriental and Greek temples. Many fine mosaics are still covered over with Turkish plaster.

Among the many churches built by Justinian at Constantinople was a reconstruction (536-546) in Byzantine style of the Constantinian basilica of the Holy Apostles. It has disappeared, but we have a splendid five-domed building, erected more than five centuries later, which reproduces its general plan, namely St Mark's at Venice.¹

Venice was not only especially receptive of Eastern influences, but was ever the home of past styles, which she assimilated and vitalized. When, in 828, the supposed body of St Mark was stolen and brought from Alexandria to Venice, a chapel to receive it was built on the site of the ancient basilica of S. Teodoro, until then the patron saint of the Venetians. This chapel (together with the later miraculously recovered body of the Saint) was destroyed by fire in 976, as well as a great part of the Doges' Palace. Whether it was rebuilt during the next century is not known, although relics of S. Teodoro and of the original chapel have been discovered in the present edifice.² About 1065 it was resolved to raise a much larger church on the same site, and according to Venetian habit the style chosen was not the Romanesque, just at that time in great favour in Italy,³ but the older and foreign Byzantine.

The form of St Mark's is that of a Greek cross. The four nearly equal limbs of the cross are domed; and the square space where nave and transept cross is covered by a fifth dome. Round the western limb runs a magnificent vesti-

¹ During the five hundred years that elapsed between the building of S. Sophia and St Mark's the original Byzantine type lost its simplicity and developed a number of cupola-covered squares grouped round the central dome. Comparatively few notable Byzantine buildings of this period are extant. Of these we have at Constantinople St Irene and Hagia Theotokos (Holy Mother of God), and at Salonica and Athens a few others.

² Chroniclers state that Doge Orseolo I (for whose curious story see *Medieval Italy*, p. 343) sent to Constantinople for builders and spent all his wealth on rebuilding the chapel. Possibly *his* edifice was the one copied from the church of the Holy Apostles. But it seems to have disappeared entirely.

³ The Norman too was becoming prevalent in South Italy, and was soon to be dominant in Sicily. The old S. Teodoro was perhaps first an early Christian basilica, like that on Torcello, and subsequently early Romanesque. True Romanesque, as seen in the fine Loredan and Farsetti palaces, was not introduced by the Venetians until about 1150.

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bule (taking the place of the Oriental narthex, or portico), vaulted and rich internally with marbles and mosaics. It is surmounted by a series of eight cupolas, and its western exterior forms the façade of the church, with its five great portals resplendent with many-coloured columns and marble-encrusted walls. The upper part of the façade received in the fifteenth century the conspicuous Gothic recurved ogees, pinnacles, and canopies. Here and there also in the building is to be seen work of genuine Arab (Saracen) character, as, for instance, a very beautifully shaped doorway on the north side. Thus we have in St Mark's several different strata of architecture, so to speak; but the harmony of these different features is wonderfully perfect, and one may regard the Venetian cathedral as, if not the oldest or the vastest, the richest and most enchanting of all extant Byzantine edifices. (See Figs. 163, 164.)

The Byzantine supremacy in South Italy, it may be remembered, was re-established by Belisarius and Narses, the generals of Justinian, shortly before the coming of the Lombards (568), and although in course of time the Lombard dukes extended their domination over almost the whole of this region a certain number of cities on the Adriatic and even on the Tyrrhene Sea (Naples being one) remained under Byzantine protectorate or dominion until, and after, the coming of the Normans. Moreover the Iconoclastic feud (628-787) brought many Byzantine artists to Italy. It is therefore indubitable that many of the churches of South Italy which were later reconstructed in the Lombard (Romanesque) or the Norman style were originally Byzantine; and this is recognizable in some cases. Thus at Canosa there is an ancient church with five Byzantine domes, dating back perhaps to the tenth century.¹ At Bari, Trani, Otranto, Taranto, Molfetta, Rossano, and other towns of Apulia, the Basilicata, and Calabria, churches of similar character are to be seen—mostly barbarously spoilt by restoration. In Rome itself there are no striking relics of Byzantine architecture, and even the signs of its influence, recognized by some writers (*e.g.*, Mr Dalton in his great book on Byzantine art) in such cases as S. Maria

¹ It contains the tomb of the Crusader Boemond, son of Robert Guiscard.

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in Cosmedin (possibly originally by 'Greek' architects), S. Saba, etc., are almost invisible to less practised observers.

In Sicily splendid churches were erected during the Norman ascendancy, especially by King Roger and by William the Good. Naturally the architecture of some of these shows Byzantine and Arab (Saracenic) characteristics combined with Norman. At Palermo we have the famous Martorana church (originally S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio, because built by King Roger's Emir, or Admiral)—a square building with a fine Byzantine dome and three apses. Then there is S. Cataldo with three oval domes, and S. Giovanni degli Eremiti with five—notable also for its idyllic cloisters. The fine mosaics of these churches will have our attention in a subsequent chapter.¹

¹ Byzantine influence on the later architecture of the Russian and Greek Church may be here touched upon—though it is rather a case of *non ragioniam di lei, ma guarda e passa*. The first stone church in Russia was built at Kieff about A.D. 1000. Moscow and Petrograd were the chief centres of this degraded Byzantine-Asiatic architecture, with its bulb cupolas and its monstrous abuse of the arches necessary for the pendentives, of which one finds sometimes three storeys, as seen in St Basil near the Kremlin, erected by Ivan the Terrible in 1554—one of the most *bizarre* specimens of false and pretentious art discoverable.

CHAPTER IV

MOSAICS

WE have now to consider some of the fine mosaics that decorated these early and medieval buildings and afforded a means of proclaiming in such impressive, splendid, and permanent form the triumphs, the ecstasies, and the beliefs of the Christian Church, victorious in her long struggle against paganism. The period to be treated is about five centuries (say from A.D. 320 to 900), during which two distinct styles were evolved, the Roman and the Byzantine. About A.D. 900 great mosaic art died out. But it will be well to add in this chapter a few remarks on the remarkable revival that took place (especially in Rome and Sicily) during the twelfth century, and thus finish the subject of medieval mosaics, although we shall be outrunning very considerably what has to be said in Part V on the subject of Romanesque architecture.

Christian Roman Mosaics

As we have seen in former chapters (pp. 132, 173, etc.), mosaic was used, mostly for pavements, by the ancient Romans, who seem to have learnt it from Hellenistic artists. Very fine specimens of Hellenistic-Roman mosaic still exist, such as the great Nile scene depicted in a pavement at Palestrina and the *Battle of Issus* found at Pompeii. The various kinds of ancient mosaic-work have also been noted already. Although glass was occasionally used, the material was usually marble and other coloured stone, and the background was often white. Then, when the use of enamel and glass instead of stone came into vogue (possibly revived by Christian artists in the age of Constantine), the Roman *opus tessellatum*, consisting of fairly small and regular cubes, seems to have been chosen as the model.

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The earliest Christian mosaics extant are probably those of S. Costanza, that mausoleum of Constantine's daughter which has been already described (see Fig. 159). The ceiling of the barrel-vaulted portico is inlaid with exceedingly graceful mosaic pictures of vintage scenes, vine-traceries, Cupids, birds, etc., on a beautiful blue ground. All is purely classical and pagan ; and this may be due to the fact that Constantine was a pagan until his last hours. But in the side apses there are mosaics (apparently of the same date) which depict Biblical scenes, and one of these, representing Christ proclaiming the new Law to St Peter and St Paul, affords the earliest example of the sheep (usually twelve, here only four) issuing forth, from right and from left, from buildings—a well-known symbol of the Apostles going forth from Jerusalem and Bethlehem (the old Church and the new) to preach the Gospel.

A more splendid Christian Roman mosaic of the fourth century is to be seen in S. Pudenziana (Fig. 167). Here we have, as in many great apse mosaics, a grand symbolical scene. The Saviour, a figure of Pheidian dignity, with bearded face and hair falling on His shoulders (perhaps the first extant example of this type), is enthroned amidst the Apostles and two women—one old and one young—who seem to represent the old Church, or Law, and the new. In the background are the walls and towers of New Jerusalem, in the midst of which rises the Mount of Calvary with the Cross Triumphant, and in the air hover the animal forms of the Evangelists. In such apocalyptic scenes Christ is generally the central figure (there is as yet no sign of the Queen of Heaven), sometimes accompanied by majestic angels, while around are grouped symbolic images, such as the seven-branched candlestick, the enthroned Lamb, the sheep issuing forth from Bethlehem and Jerusalem, the Evangelistic animals, the palm, the phoenix, the dove, and the hand of God thrust forth from a cloud. Of this character were the magnificent mosaics that adorned the apse of the original S. Paolo fuori, burnt down in 1823.

The mosaics of the side walls of the nave of a basilica generally represented Biblical scenes or personages. An interesting example of this is offered by S. Maria Maggiore,

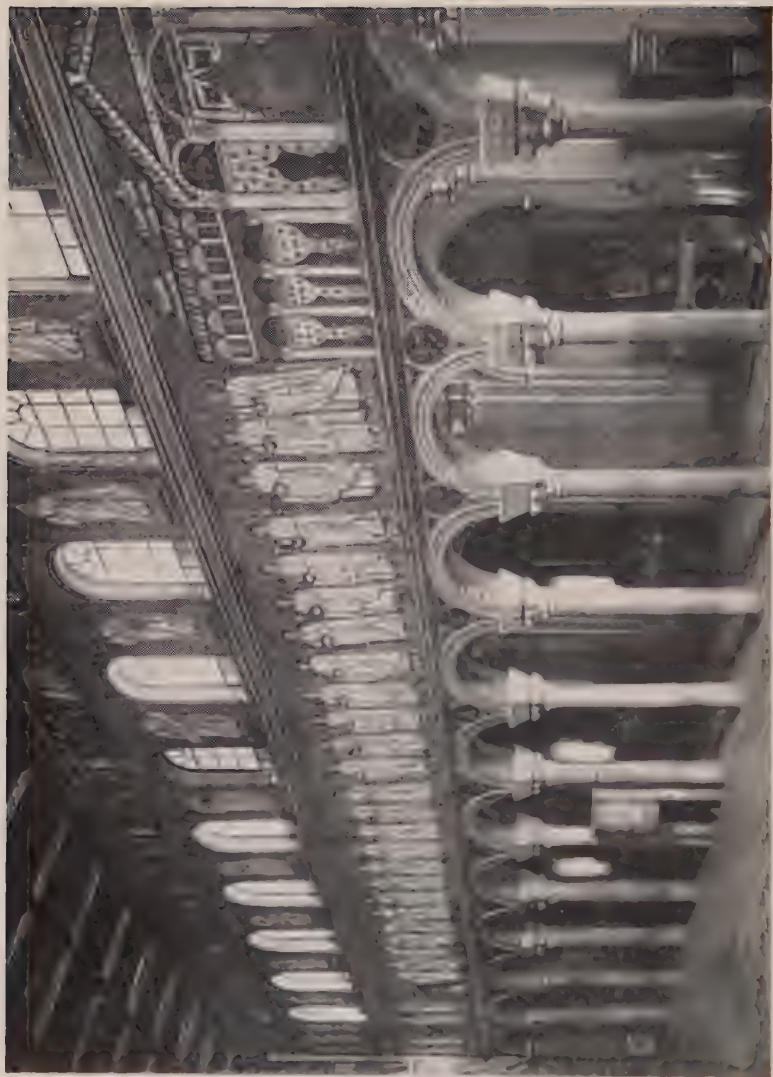


167. MOSAIC IN S. PUDENZIANA, ROME



168. MOSAIC IN S. PRASSEDE, ROME

See p. 208
Photos Alinari



169. S. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA

See p. 205

Photo Alinari

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where nave mosaics of about the same date as those of S. Pudenziana (*c.* 350) exhibit Old Testament episodes. They are exceedingly quaint. They represent, for instance, Old Testament characters in classical Roman habiliments—the Israelite warriors as veritable Roman legionaries, the angels as Roman Victories, and the saints and patriarchs as Roman divinities. On the tribune arch, instead of triumphs of Christianity over paganism (from which such an arch is often called ‘triumphal’), there are in this case, depicted in mosaics of somewhat later date (*c.* 420), no less quaintly conceived scenes from the life of the Virgin.

Perhaps the finest mosaic in Rome—a somewhat late example of the earlier and nobler style—is in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano. It dates from about 530. In the centre is the Saviour standing in the shimmering water of the Jordan and accompanied by St Peter and St Paul and the two martyrs and SS. Theodorus and Felix. On each side is a palm-tree, on one of which sits the phoenix, its head surrounded by starry rays; beneath are the twelve sheep, and in the middle, on a rock, stands the divine Lamb. Christ alone has a nimbus. On the ‘triumphal’ arch a somewhat mutilated mosaic of similar date exhibits apocalyptic symbols, such as the Book with seven seals, the Lamb, etc.

Rome, after its capture by Alaric (410) and by Gaiseric (455), and after it had finally ceased to be the capital of Italy (476), fell into a state of desolation, and during the long and terrible war between the generals of Justinian and the Ostrogoths became so depopulated that at one time (547) the great city, which in the days of Alaric had still counted two million inhabitants, was (asserts the contemporary historian Procopius) for some weeks absolutely empty of human beings. It seems therefore wonderful that such a fine work of art as the above-described mosaic (in SS. Cosma e Damiano) could have been produced at Rome during this terrible period; and seeing that the seat of the Empire had been (in 402) transferred to Ravenna, where for over half a century the court of Honorius, Valentinian III, and his mother Galla Placidia was located, and then the court of the art-loving Gothic King Theoderic, it is not surprising that in order to continue the study of Christian mosaics we should

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now have to leave Rome and to transfer our attention to Dante's last home.

Ravenna Mosaics

At Ravenna we have (a) fine mosaics of the early Christian Roman style and (b) mosaics of the Byzantine school. The former date from the period (425-455) when the Roman Imperial court of Valentinian III was established there, and from the days of Theoderic, down to 540, when Ravenna was captured by Belisarius, Justinian's famous and ill-fated general. Byzantine influence then naturally became supreme,¹ and it is to this period (say, down to the death of Justinian in 565) that are to be assigned the Byzantine mosaics in S. Vitale and S. Apollinare Nuovo.

(a) About 440 Galla Placidia (who in that year resigned her regency and who died in 450) built herself the mausoleum which has been described (p. 190; see Fig. 161). It is a small, cruciform, domed building adorned with exceedingly fine mosaics, purely Roman in style and decoratively most beautiful, the resplendent colours on a dark blue ground studded with golden stars reminding one, as Ricci well says, of the flashing plumage of a humming-bird. The most interesting of these mosaics is that which depicts Christ as a young shepherd, beardless but with long hair, seated amidst His flock—a picture of considerable beauty. About ten years later are the mosaics of the baptistery which Bishop Neon 'converted' from an octagonal Roman bath-house (Fig. 158). In the centre of the dome is a *Baptism*—a scene nobly conceived and finely designed, on a gold ground. This central circular mosaic is surrounded by the twelve Apostles—dignified figures on a rich blue background—moving, as it were, in procession. Some fifty years later, again, are the mosaics of the S. Spirito Baptistery, 'converted' by Theoderic (c. 500) from another Roman bath-house for the use of his Arians. Here we have a similar *motif*—namely a central Baptism scene and Apostles. A curious point is that here the Christ is quite youthful, whereas in the considerably

¹ Ravenna remained subject to the Eastern Emperors until captured by the Lombards in 752. Four years later it was wrested from the Lombards by Pippin the Frank.

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older baptistery He is of the later, bearded type—a fact that might make one doubt the relative dates assigned to the adornment of the two buildings.

The architecture of Theoderic's basilica of Jesus Christ, in 560 'purged' and called S. Martino in Ciel d'oro and c. 800 rechristened as S. Apollinare Nuovo, has already occupied us (pp. 187-188). Its interior adornment by the Arian king of the Ostrogoths (about 510-520) included splendid mosaics covering the whole of the nave walls (Fig. 169). Above the clerestory windows on one side are depicted thirteen miracles of Christ and on the other thirteen scenes from His Passion—the Crucifixion being omitted, as usual in early Christian art. Between the windows are figures of saints and prophets, some of great dignity. Below the windows and above the colonnades are large processional friezes. On one side we find Christ enthroned amidst four angels (a majestic though much restored group) approached by a long procession (*theoria*) of twenty-five martyrs, robed in white and bearing their martyr-crowns, who have evidently issued forth from the palace of Theoderic, which is depicted at the other end of the frieze. A similar procession of twenty-two Virgins and the three Magi, who have issued forth from the high-walled Port of Ravenna and humbly approach the enthroned Virgin and Child, forms the frieze of the opposite nave wall. Now, the upper clerestory figures, in their varied attitudes, their beautifully designed and shaded drapery, and their finely graduated colouring, show the characteristics of the *Roman* as contrasted with the *Byzantine* school of mosaic art. The same qualities are present in the two groups in the friezes—that of Christ and that of the Virgin with their attendant angels. 'The heads of these groups,' says Professor Ricci—the restorer of Ravenna churches and a very highly distinguished authority—'show fourteen shades of colour,' whereas in the case of the martyrs and virgins 'all love of form has yielded to a desire for decorative effect. The figures succeed each other without variety,¹ as if stamped by the same die. The folds of the white garments are indicated by long, rigid,

¹ Such repetition has doubtless a rhythmical value as decoration, and as decorative art a Byzantine mosaic is assuredly often very much more satisfactory than a Renaissance fresco.

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angular lines, which often grossly misrepresent the bodily forms. The hands are all exactly the same, the feet clumsy, the heads badly drawn, the faces with only four or five shades of colour.' It seems therefore probable that these martyrs and virgins are Byzantine work and that they were substituted (when the church was 'purged' from its Arian taint in 560) in the place of processions of Gothic citizens and warriors, headed by King Theoderic himself on horseback.¹ And this is made almost certain by the fact that in the mosaic representing the palace of Theoderic the spaces of the arches have been supplied with clumsily designed representations of curtains, evidently to conceal the figures of the heretical king and his courtiers—whose outlines are nevertheless here and there still faintly perceptible, while from behind more than one of the curtains may be seen a hand projecting and clasping a column of the colonnade.

The octagon church of S. Vitale at Ravenna was, as we have seen (p. 195), copied from a Byzantine church in Constantinople, but it was begun in the last year of Theoderic's reign (526), some fourteen years before the capture of Ravenna by the Byzantines. The fine central mosaic in the apse, in which the youthful Saviour is seated between two angels on the orb of the world, robed in purple and offering a martyr's crown to S. Vitale, has the simple and impressive grandeur of the best Christian Roman mosaics, and the fact that the fifth figure of the group, namely Archbishop Ecclesius, who holds in his hand a model of the church, is the only one of the five who has no nimbus confirms one's belief that the mosaic is *not* (as is all the rest of the magnificently rich mosaic decoration of this church) Byzantine work—*i.e.*, later than 540; for Ecclesius died in 534 and the absence of the nimbus almost certainly indicates that he was still alive when the mosaic was made.²

Some ten years later than S. Vitale (*viz.*, in 535) was founded the grand basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe. Here again the central portion at least of the grand apse mosaic

¹ The old chronicler Agnellus of Ravenna says he saw at Pavia a mosaic of Theoderic on horseback.

² After about A.D. 700 a rectangular nimbus had this significance.



170. COLUMNS AND MOSAICS IN S. VITALE, RAVENNA

Photo Alinari



171. MOSAICS OF JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

Ravenna, S. Vitale

Photo Alinari

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(Fig. 157) is assuredly work (much restored) of the Roman school, although probably produced after the capture of Ravenna in 540 and somewhat influenced by Byzantine art. In the centre is a great cross on a blue star-sprayed circle—the symbol of the Transfiguration. Nigh are the forms of Moses and Elias and three sheep which symbolize the Apostles on Mount Tabor; then, below, are the well-known twelve sheep, the two lines of which meet in a flowery meadow; and in the midst stands a large and impressive figure of the martyr Apollinaris, the friend of St Peter. The rest of the apse mosaic, as perhaps that of the tribune arch, is of later date and mostly Byzantine. The portraits of about 135 Ravennate prelates that disfigure the nave were begun in the eighteenth century.

(b) Some Byzantine mosaics of the Ravenna churches have been already noted. There remain two specially notable, not only as affording conspicuous examples of the gorgeousness, the unimaginative conception, the mechanical design, and the inartistic execution that characterize Byzantine work, but also because they give us portraits of Justinian and of his notorious consort, Theodora, by a contemporary artist. After the capture of Ravenna both the Emperor and Theodora are said to have subscribed largely toward the decoration of S. Vitale, which they specially favoured as a Byzantine building; so it is not surprising that the main adornment of the walls of the choir should consist in two great mosaics, in one of which the richly robed and crowned Justinian, attended by prelates and courtiers, is offering to the church a treasure of jewels or money in a golden bowl, while in the other the Empress, splendidly robed and wearing a magnificent diadem, with pendants and cape, all thickly set with pearls and precious stones, and attended by her court ladies in gorgeous array, is entering the church portal with a large chalice, her offering, in her hands.

Rome and the Eastern Empire

After the age of Justinian Ravenna produced nothing artistically valuable. Nor was much to be expected from Rome, or from the south of Italy, until the horrors of the

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Gothic war and the Lombard invasion were over. Then art revived somewhat, under Byzantine supremacy—for the Byzantines long held out against the Lombards in Rome and Naples and much of South Italy and Sicily, as well as in the northern 'Exarchate' of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, etc. As therefore we might expect, the mosaics produced at Rome during this era show very decided Byzantine influence. Fine examples of such mosaics are to be seen in the apse of S. Agnese fuori (c. 630), in S. Stefano Rotondo (c. 640), and in the oratory of S. Venanzio (adjoining the Lateran Baptistery). In these we notice at once the Byzantine stiffness and the similarity of the figures, the richly brocaded and bejewelled vestments,¹ and the love of gorgeous colour, to some extent tempered and ennobled by the traditional dignity of the Roman school. And how bravely but vainly this Roman school continued to assert its nobler qualities against what Kugler well calls 'Byzantine deformity' may be very well observed in Fig. 168; for this mosaic of S. Prassede, which dates from about 825—that is, nearly a century later than the S. Agnese mosaic and twenty-five years after the coronation of Charlemagne² at Rome—in its general composition imitates closely, and with evident affection and zeal, the much older above-mentioned mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano (of c. 530); but how inexpressibly great is their difference as works of art! Note the absence of simplicity, grandeur, and beauty, vainly compensated by gorgeous apparel and nimbi, round and square! Of the same era (c. 850) are the mosaics in S. Maria della Navicella, on the Caelian.

After this the art of mosaic at Rome, and throughout Italy, seems to have died down to the root. For more than two centuries, until about 1100, there is an almost total blank, during which we discover only rude attempts in a degenerate Byzantine style.

Here we should remind ourselves that at Constantinople—the home of Byzantine art—between 628 and 787 Icono-

¹ A mosaic of c. 705, once in the oratory of Pope John VII, and now in S. Marco at Florence, represents the Virgin, decked out with magnificent jewels and crown, as a queen; but it is notable that she has still the uplifted hands of an *orante* and is therefore not regarded as worshipped but worshipping.

² For the so-called 'Triclinium' mosaic put up by Leo III, with the rather grotesque portrait of Charlemagne, see *Medieval Italy*, pp. 243, 271.

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clasm raged furiously, and that many Byzantine artists sought refuge in Italy—a fact that explains the aforementioned prevalence of Byzantine influence at Rome, and also explains why scarcely any relics are extant of the doubtless many mosaics that had been produced in the Eastern Empire before the outbreak of this fanatic extermination of all religious pictures and images. And we should also note that after the re-establishment of image-worship (by that inhuman wretch, the sainted Empress Irene) figurative art revived, especially after the accession of the 'Macedonian' dynasty in 867. Of still extant Eastern mosaics dating from the tenth and following centuries, besides many that doubtless still exist forgotten beneath Turkish plaster and paint, may be noted one (of c. 900) in the portico (narthex) of S. Sophia at Constantinople, in which a big, burly, black-bearded, and very ordinary-looking personage—meant to represent Christ—is seated on a magnificent throne and is giving his benediction (with fingers one, two, and four, in the Greek way) to a Byzantine emperor crouching before him in ungainly Oriental fashion. At Phocis in Greece and at Daphne (near Athens) and elsewhere there are important series of mosaics, of the eleventh century, which present in their authorized order all the New Testament facts proclaimed by the Eastern Church as the sources of essential dogmas—such as the Ascension, the Resurrection, the Pentecost, the enthronement of Christ in heaven, etc.¹ It is interesting to note that one of the Daphne mosaics pictures a Crucifixion—a subject still comparatively rare.²

If we now turn again to Rome we shall find no mosaics during these centuries (say 900 to 1100) except feeble imitations of Byzantine work. But about 1150 a revival took place, doubtless due to the new feeling for art that had been gradually awakened by the Lombard-Romanesque architects

¹ As we shall see, the Eastern Church prescribed subjects, and treatment also, in the case of paintings, thus reducing art to a mere mechanical craft. Many later Byzantine mosaics of the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries have been found on Mount Athos, in Chios, at Mistra in Laconia, and elsewhere.

² Carotti gives a reproduction (copied from Millet's *Le Monastère de Daphne*) to judge from which this mosaic is wonderfully late in style—almost Giottesque. The earliest known *Crucifixion* in art is probably that carved on the door of S. Sabina at Rome (c. 450). The earliest known miniature of the subject is in a Syrian Gospel (c. 590) in the Laurentian Library, Florence.

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and artists and had burst into joyous expression after the year 1000 was past, in which all Christendom seems to have anticipated with terror the end of the world. The new style in mosaic, which perhaps we may call Romanesque, may be regarded as the early Christian Roman revived in a new spirit. Perhaps the earliest and finest specimens are the upper half of the grand apse mosaic and that of the arch and the façade in S. Maria in Trastevere. In S. Clemente there are others of this era, and in S. Paolo fuori the vast apse mosaics, burnt in 1823, were of about 1220. A late and fine example of this style is Torriti's *Coronation of the Virgin* in S. Maria Maggiore. Then about the end of the thirteenth century we have the admirable lower portion of the great apsidal mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere—the work, perhaps, of Cavallini, who may have had some share in the celebrated *Navicella*, in the portico of St Peter's, which is attributed to Giotto and which introduced a new, and perhaps false, 'pictorial' method into the art of mosaic.¹ Thus we have traced, with somewhat faint lines but with continuity, the course of Christian mosaic art from the days of Constantine the Great to those of Giotto and Dante.

Venice

The mosaics of St Mark's cover a space of more than five thousand square yards. They date from the tenth to the nineteenth century. A few, notably the group of Christ with the Virgin and St Mark above the inner central portal, may have been saved from the memorial chapel of St Mark, destroyed by fire in 976, on the site of which, about 1060, the present cathedral was built. Others were evidently put up soon after the new building was ready to be decorated, and are naturally Byzantine work. The internal decoration of the five domes was evidently planned according to the treatment prescribed by the Eastern Church—such as we have noted in the case of the mosaic *cyclus* at Daphne. The subjects of these dome mosaics are the Ascension, the Descent of the Spirit, the foretelling of the Messiah—Christ and the Virgin being pictured among Old Testament prophets,

¹ The contrast between Giotto's *Navicella* (1298) and Cimabue's great dome mosaic at Pisa (1302) shows the audacity of Giotto's innovation—if his.



172. MOSAIC IN S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, ROME
Photo Alinari



173. LA NAVICELLA, IN ST PETER'S, ROME
Photo Alinari



174. PALIOTTO OF ALTAR AND RELIEFS ON THE AMBONE
IN S. AMBROGIO, MILAN

Photos Brogi

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saints, and patriarchs—the Apocalyptic Vision, the Church triumphant. The execution of these vast designs evidently took many years, so that only portions of the work are genuinely Byzantine, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹ The great mosaic, in Byzantine style, of the apse, which represents Christ enthroned (*Pantocrator*, ‘Ruler of the Universe,’ according to the Byzantine nomenclature) is of a date not earlier than 1500. The Old Testament mosaic pictures of the vestibule are also in Byzantine style, but are of the thirteenth century. The external (façade) mosaics are, as usual, much later than those of the interior. They are mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and decidedly non-Byzantine. The one over the main portal (*The Last Judgment*) is modern—of the year 1836.

Norman-Sicilian Mosaics

Most interesting developments in mosaic as well as in architecture took place in Sicily during the supremacy of the Normans. The Norman-Saracen architecture of Sicily will occupy us in a later chapter, but the decorations of these splendid churches need mention here in order that we may finish the subject of early and medieval mosaics.

Some fifty years before the conquest of England the first Normans landed in Italy, on their return from the Holy Land. Others then came from Normandy, among whom the sons of Tancred especially distinguished themselves, Robert (called *Guiscard*, i.e., Crafty) becoming Duke of Apulia,² and Roger Grand Count of Sicily. Then Roger’s son, Roger II, assumed the royal title. It was during the reigns of this King Roger and his grandson, William the Good—who married a sister of Richard Cœur-de-Lion—that the chief Norman-Sicilian churches were built. (See illustrations in Part V, Chapter II.)

¹ Byzantine work of the twelfth century are also the apse mosaics in the cathedral (much more ancient than St Mark’s) of Torcello, the well-known island near Venice. Curiously, in this church there are other mosaics of almost the same date which show a remarkable break with Byzantine style and a surprising animation—distinct proofs of the new Romanesque influence. But soon afterward (1204) the sacking of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders, and then later (1453) the capture of this city by the Turks, brought many Byzantine artists again to Venice.

² He distinguished himself ingloriously by his barbarous sack of Rome in 1084.

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Of these the Cappella Palatina at Palermo, the profusely decorated Chapel Royal of King Roger, has splendid mosaics, the best of which date from his reign (1130-54). Especially notable is the dignified and impressive representation of the Saviour—different from the Roman and very far removed from the Byzantine. Cefalù Cathedral (built perhaps by Roger shortly before he assumed the crown) can show even finer mosaics. Some of the saints and angels may betray Byzantine treatment, but here again the grand figure of Christ (attributed to the year 1148) is of what we may call the Lombard-Norman type. The Martorana church at Palermo, founded in 1143, contains an interesting mosaic representing Roger receiving the regal crown from the hands of Christ—a protest against the refusal of Pope Innocent II to invest him with the kingly title. The splendid cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo, built by William the Good (1171-89), displays about eight thousand square yards of mosaics of various dates. Amongst them is one in which William is represented, like his grandfather, receiving his crown from Christ—the idea evidently having become hereditary.

These Sicilian mosaics are essentially different from those of the Byzantine school, nor have they the characteristics of the revived Roman school. Rome, moreover, as we have seen, was at this era (1130-1200) certainly not in a state to send great artists to other countries. It is far more likely that a new and noble style of mosaic, inspired by Lombard-Romanesque artists of South Italy and only slightly affected by Byzantine influences, developed itself under these Norman kings of Sicily. Nor was this so-called Norman-Sicilian style confined wholly to Sicily, for also in South Italy are found here and there specimens of non-Byzantine mosaic, most evidently produced during the Norman supremacy, such as the portrait of St Matthew in Salerno Cathedral. And we may note that, besides mosaics, there are found in South Italy other works of art of this era that show a natural vigour very refreshing in contrast to Byzantine 'deformity.' Such is the famous *paliotto* of Salerno, an altar-covering with ivory reliefs representing Biblical scenes.

CHAPTER V

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE (c. 300-c. 800)

(a) The Roman School

THE adornment of the Catacombs ceased, as we have seen, about the year 410, except that a few paintings were added in the cubicles of the chief martyrs, especially when toward the ninth century pilgrims began to flock Romeward. During these four centuries (400-800) possibly painting was practised in Italy much more than one is apt to believe. But it is likely that mosaic had taken its place to a great extent, for signs of the existence of any native school are exceedingly rare. Indeed almost the only paintings of this era which can with any certainty be attributed to artists of an independent Roman school are to be found in S. Maria Antiqua and in S. Clemente.

The little basilica of S. Maria Antiqua, on the north slope of the Palatine, close to the Forum, was excavated in 1900-1. It was possibly, as we have seen (p. 181 *n.*), one of the earliest Christian churches, and was probably favoured officially and decorated during the Byzantine supremacy in Italy (c. 560). Then about 705-750, under Popes John VII and Zacharias, it was profusely redecorated with paintings which are now rapidly fading.¹ Some of these paintings are of great importance. Although forming a part of a Byzantine scheme of decoration marked with Greek inscriptions, and otherwise affected by Byzantine influences, they seem to prove that Roman painters of very considerable originality existed in the first half of the eighth century, and among them there are several, especially a well-preserved *Crucifixion* (Fig. 175), that are notable for a certain dignity of figure and beauty of

¹ There are several layers of paintings, so perhaps something equally valuable may some day come to light. In the Lateran Museum there is a mosaic portrait of Pope John VII.

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composition, in which qualities they reveal, if only faintly, indubitable signs of affinity to the best Roman mosaics of that age.¹

The walls of the lower (subterranean) basilica of S. Clemente are decorated with frescos dating perhaps from the fourth to the eleventh century. Here and there one sees the faded relics of early Roman Christian work; other relics are of work by Roman artists of a later era (from about 500 until the sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard in 1084); and these are interesting to the historian of art, but many of them are depressingly affected by Byzantine 'deformity' and possess no real value as works of art.

Roman sculpture had become very degraded by the days of Constantine the Great, as is proved by the reliefs on that Emperor's triumphal arch, and for three centuries after the Peace of the Church plastic art was at a very low ebb, one reason perhaps being that Christianity, with its semi-Oriental horror of idolatry, shrank from anything of the nature of statuary.² However that may be, very few statues or other carvings of this era—with the one great exception of sculptured reliefs on sarcophagi—have been discovered, and these are mostly very unattractive, as for instance the huge, unwieldy bronze figure, perhaps of the Emperor Theodosius the Catholic, at Barletta.³ There is however one statue of the Constantinian era which has considerable charm. It is evidently modelled after the Catacomb frescos that represent Christ as the Good Shepherd bearing a lamb on His shoulders, exactly as Greek and even ancient Cretan sculptors conceived Hermes the 'Sheep-bearer' (p. 178). Several specimens of this statue are to be seen in museums. The Lateran possesses the best. Besides this there are pagan statues which have been converted into Christian saints. The well-known bronze seated statue in St Peter's, the toe of

¹ Mr Rushforth, who first described these wall-paintings, speaks of this *Crucifixion* as Roman and similar to several other Roman conceptions of the scene.

² This feeling, which manifested itself very strongly in the long and bitter Iconoclastic attack of the Eastern Church on the Roman (628-787), finally gave way to that more imaginative Western conception of Deity which Dante voices in his *la scrittura condescende a vostra facultade, e piede e mano attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende*.

³ Found in the sea; possibly a statue of the Eastern Emperor Heraclius (c. 630) lost when being brought to Venice after the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.



175. CRUCIFIXION
Wall-painting of eighth century. Discovered in
S. Maria Antiqua, Rome
Photo Alinari



176. MADONNA ORANTE
Mosaic of early eighth century, framed with much later work
Now in S. Marco, Florence

Photo Alinari

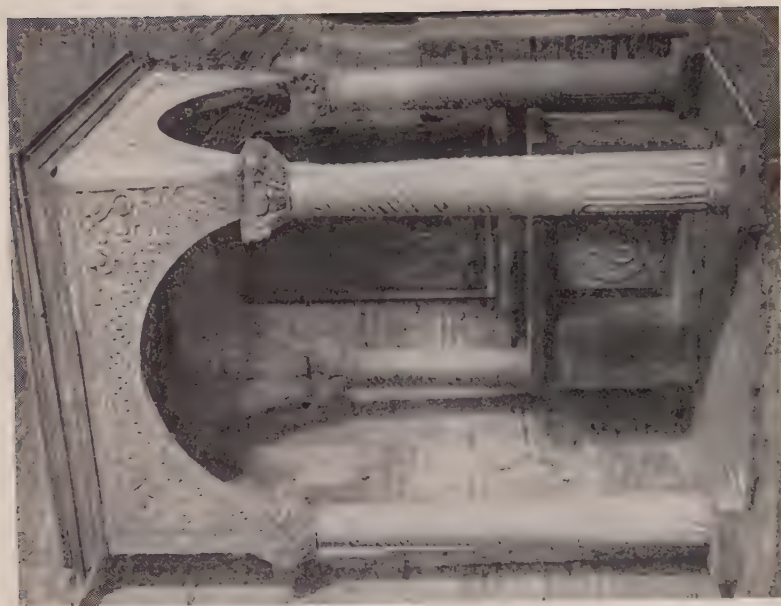


177. IVORY ARCHIEPISCOPAL THRONE

Ravenna, Archiepiscopal Palace

See p. 226—and note

Photo: Bassi



178. A SIXTH-CENTURY ALTAR UNDER THE NINTH-CENTURY TABERNACLE OF ST ELEUCADIUS

Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe

Photo: Ahlert

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which has had to be protected against ceaseless osculation, is perhaps an ancient Roman senator furnished with the nimbus, the keys, and the benedictory fingers of St Peter, although some believe it to date from the days of Arnolfo di Cambio (*c.* 1300), to whom indeed Venturi attributes it.

A very striking exception to the scarcity and inferiority of sculpture in this age is offered by the sarcophagi. Before the Peace of the Church the Christians used but few sarcophagi. These were usually slightly altered Roman or Hellenistic sarcophagi, acquired for the rare cases of such saints and dignitaries as were allowed burial in the chambers (*cubicula*) or chapels of the Catacombs. A few of these are still *in situ*; others have been removed to churches and museums. In the earlier examples the reliefs represent no Christian subjects, but only such classic figures as the Shepherd, the phoenix, etc., and such myths (*e.g.*, those of Orpheus and Psyche) as lent themselves to Christian symbolism. Then, after the Peace, genuine Christian sarcophagi began to be produced in great numbers, and in course of time filled the atria of basilicas, cloisters, and cemeteries.¹ Biblical subjects were now freely used, but (as in mosaics) classical decoration, classical costume, and classical symbolical and mythological figures were often retained. Architectural framework (pillars with architrave or arches, niches, etc.) often divide the reliefs into groups or single figures, and sometimes there are two rows of such colonnades, as may be seen in the case of a splendid sarcophagus in the crypt of St Peter's—namely that of Junius Bassus, a Christian convert who died about 370. A most interesting and admirable example of another type, without framework and with one row of figures, has been discovered in the excavated church of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 153; and pp. 181 *n.* and 213). It shows Jonah

¹ In the crypts (*Grotte*) of St Peter's are old Christian sarcophagi, of which the most interesting (though not artistically) is that of St Peter, once in a catacomb. The Lateran Museum has a very fine collection of Christian sarcophagi of perhaps ten centuries. In the Vatican Museum is the huge porphyry sarcophagus, with classic sculptures, of Constantine's daughter, once in her tomb (S. Costanza, for which see Fig. 147), and the sarcophagus of Constantine's mother, Helena. These are perhaps Alexandrine-Hellenistic work. The Campo Santo of Pisa contains many interesting specimens. Others are to be seen at Milan, Ravenna, Verona, Perugia, Salerno, Syracuse, and elsewhere in Italy, as well as in Istria, Dalmatia, etc. In the vast and celebrated cemetery of Arles, in South France, the sarcophagi still 'make all the place uneven,' as Dante describes it.

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cast ashore (with a vigorously designed sea-monster and ship), the Baptism of Christ, the well-known figure of the Good Shepherd, etc., and reveals a good deal of originality and independence of classical models. Of still greater artistic value are various early sarcophagi of both types (fifth to seventh century) at Ravenna, notably four that are in S. Apollinare in Classe. Characteristic Christian sarcophagi are those called *clipeati*—i.e., bearing a sculptured medallion (*clipeus*, shield) with the image of the deceased, or those of several persons.

Under early Christian sculpture may be mentioned carved wooden doors. Of these the most ancient (c. 386) is perhaps the (fragmentary) door of S. Ambrogio—possibly the very one that St Ambrose closed in the face of Theodosius. The most complete ancient specimen (c. 450) is that of S. Sabina, already mentioned as containing the earliest known representation of the Crucifixion.

Capitals, *plutei* (screens), *ambones* (pulpits), etc., are connected rather with architecture than sculpture, but one may note here the early *ciboria*—four-pillared tabernacles with arches and richly carved superstructures, like the later baldacchini, meant for the conservation of the sacred vessels. A very beautifully proportioned specimen (ninth century) is to be seen in S. Apollinare in Classe (Fig. 178). An octagonal tabernacle of similar character and age contains the font in the Duomo of Cividale. The magnificent ciborium that covers the high altar in S. Ambrogio (Milan) and bears a canopy with reliefs in gilded stucco may date from about the end of the era we are discussing and be the original ciborium erected in 835 by Archbishop Engelbert over the altar decorated with his splendid gift, the *pallium* or *paliotto* (pall, vesture), for which see Fig. 174.

Under sculpture perhaps should be classed this *paliotto*. It covers the altar on all four sides and is formed of sheets of gold and silver and silver-gilt on which are wrought reliefs in many square panels and in medallions (scenes from the life of Christ and of St Ambrose, etc.); and it is richly adorned with enamel, jewels, and cameos. It is distinctly not (as is the *pala d'oro* at Venice) Byzantine, but Western (Carolingian) work—the artist, Volvinus, having probably been a German.

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In regard to Rome, one must remember that very many sculptures of this age were doubtless built into edifices, for during the greater part of a thousand years most of the larger Roman buildings were of what was called 'fragmentary architecture,' *i.e.*, were composed to a large extent of material taken from older buildings. Much sculpture also must have been destroyed when Rome was so ruthlessly sacked by Robert Guiscard in 1084.

(b) The Byzantine School

In its origin, nature, and prolific output, Byzantine painting was very different from that of the Roman artists of this era, the very rare relics of whose work we have been considering.¹ Byzantine architecture, as we have already seen, revealed unquestionable originality and produced buildings of grandeur and beauty—such as the mighty dome of S. Sophia, poised aloft so gracefully—which had a great and salutary influence on the architecture of Christendom. Also Byzantine mosaics are, at any rate decoratively, very impressive, and they doubtless contributed both technically and imaginatively toward the development of the great Roman school. But although Byzantine painting, both mural and other, merits our gratitude for having preserved and transmitted the technique of the late Hellenistic school; although, spread through a great part of Christendom by the monks of St Basil and other missionaries, it proved a civilizing influence among the hordes of Christianized barbarians; although the 'Greek painters' of Giotto's day did doubtless afford not a little of the material in which the new-alighted spirit of the Italian Revival manifested itself—

¹ Some modern writers, carried away by antiquarian zeal and enthusiasm for the comparatively very numerous extant Byzantine paintings, mosaics, carvings, etc., are inclined to ignore, or even deny, the existence of any Roman art during the period that we are considering. Thus, Mr O. M. Dalton's *Byzantine Art*, a book of over 700 large pages adorned with some 450 good illustrations, covers the period 300–1453, and includes as 'Byzantine' many things that most certainly owed their main inspiration to Roman influences, *e.g.*, many mosaics, sarcophagi, etc. This very learned writer gives to Byzantine artists practically the sole credit of 'keeping up the continuity between pagan and Christian art,' by assimilating and reproducing in a new and living form the essentials of Hellenistic art, Alexandrian and other. All Italian art he supposes to have died out with the extinction of the degraded art of ancient Rome, and a new aethereal spark to have been introduced by these Byzantine artists.

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nevertheless it seems that the medium, as sometimes is the case in art, and in religion, while transmitting vital energy was itself incapable of developing into a living form.

Lest this should seem too baldly assertive I must try to find space sufficient for explanation, if not for justification, of my statement. What is called, not very accurately, Byzantine art is said to have arisen from a combination of late Hellenistic and Oriental art. The diffusion in Oriental lands of Hellenistic art (Alexandrian, Syrian, and other) had been very remarkable,¹ and much mutual influence had naturally been exercised. The new capital of the Roman Empire had attracted artists from Asia Minor, Egypt, and other Eastern Hellenistic spheres, and 'Byzantine' art thus found a local habitation and a name; and from this centre it spread through Greece and Italy, and even through the Christianized barbarian races of Central Europe, which frequently possessing a sensibility for colour and form (as proved by their ornamental work) accepted eagerly and imitated the often gaudily rich paintings and the ivory carvings introduced by missionaries from the South. And these Byzantine pictures and carvings were remarkably well adapted for such propaganda, for the Byzantine painters, though they inherited the technique, had tempered—had indeed diluted to invisibility—the perfect form, the idealism, the dignity and the grace of Greek art (qualities that Goths and Franks would not have valued) by large admixtures of religious sentimentality and pathos; and these gaudy ikons and mural paintings, although usually of a very morbid, unlovely, and even grotesque character, were welcomed with admiration and gratitude by the half-savage Northland converts, wholly unskilled in depicting human emotions, as a wonderful means of visualizing their new beliefs. But such success by no means proves the greatness of Byzantine painting.

For greatness, indeed, at least two essentials were lacking. Firstly, there was an entire lack of originality—of that recourse to nature which, as Leonardo da Vinci tells us,

¹ In alliance with Buddhism, which eagerly accepted its attractive qualities, it spread to India and Central Asia, and 'had it not been for the existence in China of a greater figure art, Hellenistic influence might have trained the art of China and Japan' (Dalton).

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and as is very noticeable in the case of ancient Egypt, is a necessity for the development of any really great art. Like the Egyptian, the Byzantine was burdened with an overwhelming heritage of models and rules, and whatever genius he may have possessed had not the strength to assert itself. He accepted submissively traditional prescriptions. He became merely an astoundingly clever copyist, and he often copied late Hellenistic paintings, which were imitations or paraphrases of older work. Secondly, even more than the Egyptian, he became a servile *employé* of the priesthood, bound to prescribed methods and 'cycles' and 'schemes' in treatment of subjects and even to traditional vestures, colours, features, and attitudes.¹ Art existed solely as the *ancilla* of the Church. The manufacture and sale of 'sacred' paintings became latterly enormous. Christendom was deluged with portable wonder-working pictures—sacred scenes and personages, Apostles and saints, and Madonnas with orange or brick-red face tinged and shaded into cadaverous green, set against a background of gold, and decked out with gilt ornaments and gorgeous apparel.² The artistic value of these ikons (*εἰκόνας*, portraits, images) is well intimated by the following assertion of one of the speakers at the notorious Second Council of Nicaea, summoned (in 787) by that pious Empress Irene who put out the eyes of her own son. 'It is not,' said the advocate of image-worship, 'the invention of the painter that creates the ikon, but the law and tradition of the Catholic Church. . . . It is the Holy Fathers who have to invent and to dictate.' A *Manual* with a great number of these regulations still exists. It may date from about the eleventh century, but possibly it gives rules that had been in force for many years.

Ikons were usually painted on wooden tablets, but the name is also applied to ivory carvings and small portable mosaics, of which there are two eleventh-century specimens, of wonderfully minute workmanship, in the Cathedral Museum at Florence.³

¹ See the remarks on Egyptian art (pp. 11-12).

² *Medieval Italy*, p. 274.

³ The base of these minute mosaics is wax, in which are embedded tiny golden and coloured *tesserae* (cubes).

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The number of ikons still extant in museums and in churches, Russian and other, many of them half hidden under silver or gold plates and bejewelled frames, is great. Rarely the subject is secular, *e.g.*, the portrait of an Eastern emperor or empress. Christian pictures of the fourth to the sixth century found in Egypt¹ show clearly that the first Byzantine ikons were suggested by the work of the Alexandrian painters of those wonderful encaustic and *tempera* portraits which in the days of the Ptolemies, as we saw in the chapter on Egypt, took the place of the carved or moulded masks placed over the face of mummies. The encaustic process seems to have been used by the early Byzantine artists, but in time it gave way entirely to *tempera*, the process in which colours are applied to a dry surface (not to a 'fresh'—*i.e.*, damp—surface, as in the case of a 'fresco'), and are therefore necessarily mixed with some such viscous medium as glue, size, or albumen.² This *tempera* process was used generally by the Byzantines, as it had been used also by the Egyptians, in their wall-paintings, to many of which therefore the name 'fresco' is not strictly applicable.

In Asia Minor, and especially in Cappadocia, still exist very numerous rock-churches, chapels, isolated round churches, and others, many of them very little known, which possess mural paintings of the Byzantine age, most of them much damaged by exposure, neglect, and fanaticism. In one case at least, that of Gereme in Cappadocia, where several churches were profusely and richly frescoed with cycles of Biblical scenes, the relics show very considerable dignity in composition and no mean skill in execution, and add strong testimony in favour of the assertion that Byzantine pictorial art, even if it does not belong to the same order of things as Byzantine architecture and architectural sculpture, has anyhow high merit as church decoration. In Syria and Palestine much has been destroyed by Saracens and Turks. An interesting relic is to be seen in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, where on the columns are faded Byzantine paintings of sacred persons and kneeling figures and Frankish

¹ The earliest are pictures of the Virgin and Child, of St John, etc., brought from Sinai and still preserved, let us hope, at Kieff.

² The invention of oil-painting, usually attributed to Flanders, has of late been accredited to Japan.

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coats of arms—evidently votive pictures presented by Frankish Crusaders.

In Egypt, besides the ikons already mentioned, there are numerous mural decorations of a Byzantine type—for instance, very interesting frescos (of the sixth and seventh centuries) in the chapels and cells of a monastery at Sakkara, excavated by Mr Quibell, and wall-paintings at Esneh and Assuan; but their artistic value is slight. In Constantinople, where doubtless many churches were richly decorated by Byzantine painters, almost all has been annihilated, or covered with plaster and paint, by Christian iconoclasts and Turkish fanatics. At Salonica (in S. Sophia) Byzantine frescos are dimly perceptible beneath Turkish whitewash. At Athens the Parthenon, which was converted into a church about A.D. 600, has on its walls, especially on the north side (where was the portico, or narthex), various rows of impressively dignified saints. Two other Athenian churches, that of the Megale Panagia and that of the Redeemer, now demolished, possessed great frescos, Christ as *Pantocrator* ('Ruler of the Universe') being depicted in the centre of the dome. At Mistra in Laconia, already mentioned on account of its mosaics, there are five churches, more or less ruined, that still possess much of their original fresco decoration (partly under whitewash), most of which dates from the last great period of Byzantine art, namely, that so-called Second Golden Age which it enjoyed under the dynasty of the Palaeologi (1260–1453) until the coming of the Turks. Some of these frescos display an animation and a charm in form and expression which are in singular contrast to the old, stiff, graceless Byzantine style, and make one suspect Western influences.

Besides all that have been mentioned there are very many other churches in the East, in Greece, in the Balkan peninsula, on the shores and islands of the Aegæan, and in Russia which contain frescos and other wall-paintings of Byzantine type. An immense amount of labour and ingenuity must have been expended on these decorations, which usually consist of slightly varied representations of stock 'sacred' subjects arranged in prescribed cycles, but amid all this vast output there is scarcely anything that

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has more than antiquarian value. The gift necessary for the production of that indefinable thing which one calls a true work of art does not seem to have been possessed by any of the so-called Byzantine painters, although their activities extended over more than a thousand years. Their mural painters, though trammelled by priestly prescriptions intolerable to genius, produced at least something less painfully and hopelessly void of all the essentials of great art than were the products of the ikon-manufacturer, whose wares (sometimes of great splendour and monetary value) were intended for sale to rich devotees at home and for export by means of zealous missionaries.

Turning from the East to Italy, we find that, considering how long Byzantine supremacy lasted there and the multitudes of Byzantine artists that took refuge there during the Iconoclastic feud, and after the sack of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders, there is (putting aside the Byzantine districts in the extreme south) a surprising scarcity of extant Byzantine paintings and (putting Venice and Ravenna aside) of Byzantine buildings and Byzantine mosaics.

In those parts of Southern Italy which for five centuries—from the time of Justinian to that of the Normans—were under Byzantine supremacy and remained long afterward under Byzantine influences there are still, as we have seen in a former chapter, numerous churches with Byzantine characteristics. Far more numerous are the cells, oratories, crypts, and chapels excavated, as the rock-temples of Egypt, in Calabria, the Basilicata (Lucania), the region of Otranto, and elsewhere by Eastern hermits of the Order of St Basil (*d.* 379). In many of these there still exist more or less damaged frescos dating from the tenth to the fifteenth century. The earlier are purely Byzantine in style, and in prescribed arrangement, and in their Greek inscriptions, but are primitive and lacking in the rich colours and apparel characteristic of the Byzantine school. By the twelfth century Italian style and Latin inscriptions begin to show themselves, and in the later specimens (of the Palaeologi period, or Second Golden Age) we find Byzantine gorgeousness combined with attempted animation and dramatic composition, such as had been introduced by Giotto and his school. An

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interesting *cyclus* of wall-paintings, evidently by Byzantine artists, or by Italians working under Byzantine direction, exists in the church of S. Angelo in Formio, near Capua (north of Naples), which dates from 942. In connexion with Byzantine pictorial art in Southern Italy should be mentioned the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, founded (529) by St Benedict. After its recovery from destruction by Lombards and Saracens it became (c. 900) a favourite haunt of Eastern monks and artists, many of whom took refuge there from the continual disturbances in Constantinople; and from this centre Byzantine ikons and Byzantine illustrated manuscripts (besides much else) found their way by means of Benedictine missionaries to distant lands of the West and the North.¹

As for mural paintings in and near Rome, there are many figures in the Catacombs that are possibly and some that are unquestionably in the Byzantine style; thus a figure of Christ in a *Traditio clavium* (one of the Biblical scenes prescribed in Byzantine art) is almost identical with the Christ of the apse mosaic of S. Vitale at Ravenna, and a *Virgin and Child* resembles the group in S. Apollinare Nuovo. Then, in S. Saba on the Aventine, founded by Greek monks, there are damaged remains of Byzantine frescos. But the only really important relics of Byzantine wall-painting in Rome are those in S. Maria Antiqua, the earliest of which (see p. 213) date doubtless from the years when Justinian's general, Narses, was governor of Rome, and the Byzantines had wrested almost the whole of Italy from the Ostrogoths (c. 560-567). Many of these early paintings were probably repainted or obliterated when, from 705 to 745, the little basilica was redecorated. On this occasion some Roman artists were certainly employed, as is evident from those of the paintings which (like the *Cruci-*

¹ The medieval miniature painting, which extended over a thousand years, was probably derived from papyrus illuminations of Alexandrian Christians and the vellum, paged *codices* of late Hellenistic days. It was practised assiduously by Byzantines, Celts, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and by the Italians of Romanesque and Gothic times. Byzantine illustrated MSS. (religious and other) are innumerable and sometimes are very interesting, the miniatures being frequently imitated from classical masterpieces; but the execution is generally poor and the designs and colours and gold are very inferior to those of much miniature work of Western artists. The subject, as that of ivories, lies outside the limits of this volume.

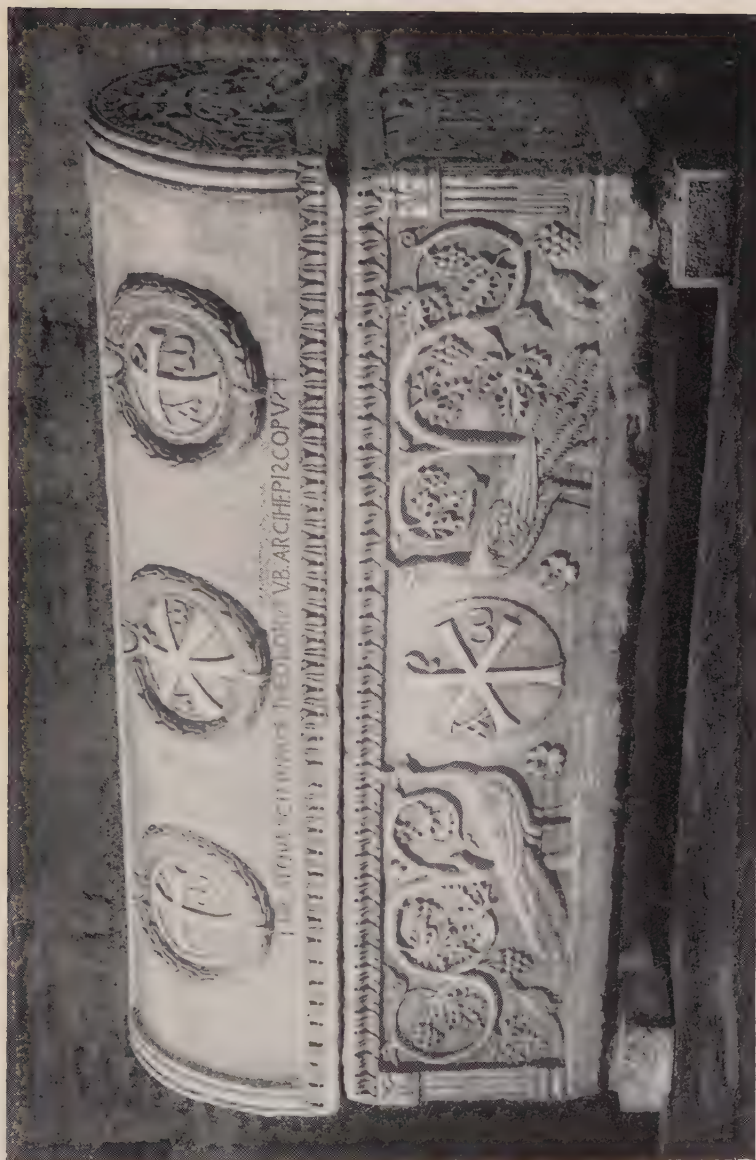
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fixion) show a Roman character, even though they may also show Byzantine treatment and have Greek, or bilingual, inscriptions—a fact not surprising when one remembers that just at this time a great number of artists and Basilian monks had fled to Rome on account of Iconoclastic troubles.

Statuary art was practically non-existent among the Byzantines. The colossal Barletta statue (p. 214), various statuettes, a seated headless statue of porphyry in the Cairo Museum, two pairs of porphyry warriors, grotesquely ugly, at the south-eastern angle of St Mark's, Venice, have been attributed to Byzantine sculptors, but nothing certain is known about them. As for sarcophagi, rather less than half of the extant specimens were found in Asia Minor and are late Hellenistic work,¹ and it is asserted by some writers that the reliefs of many existing in Italy (at Florence, Ravenna, and Rome), besides being worked in Asiatic marble, have characteristics of these Eastern—or perhaps one may say Byzantine—sarcophagi, namely figures in alternately arched and unarched spaces, scallop-shell backgrounds, spirally fluted columns, and much drill-work. Also some of the Ravenna sarcophagi, among which are several fine specimens of indubitable Roman Christian work, do certainly show what may be Oriental or Egyptian features (such as date-palms) and drapery and attitudes reminiscent of Hellenistic sculpture. Even among the ancient sarcophagi of Southern France and Spain Hellenistic characteristics are discoverable, and Byzantine enthusiasts claim these as of Byzantine provenance, or anyhow as the work of Byzantine immigrants. But it seems more reasonable to regard almost all the sarcophagi of Italy and more western lands as of Italian (mostly Roman) workmanship and to account for Hellenistic-Byzantine features by the facts that Hellenistic art was in the early centuries of our era supreme at Rome and that from about 550 onward many Byzantine artists were to be found there.

Architectural and other ornamental carvings by Byzantine sculptors are exceedingly numerous, and many are eminently

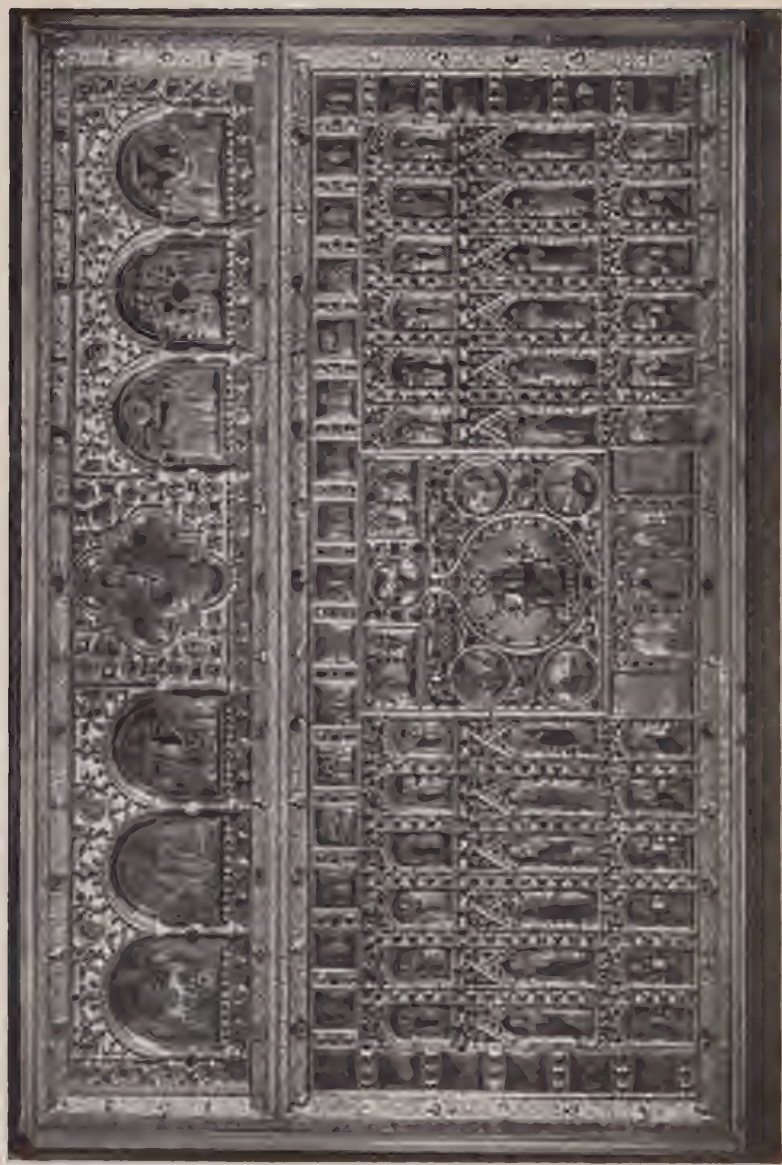
¹ A striking proof of the eastern expansion of Hellenistic art is the fact that an archetype of a very prevalent Buddha image (similar to certain Christ types found on these Asiatic Christian sarcophagi) was evidently imitated from the well-known statue of Sophocles in the Lateran Museum.



179. SARCOPHAGUS OF ARCHBISHOP THEODORUS

A.D. 688. Roman (or Byzantine) workmanship. In *S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna*

Photo Alinari



180. LA PALA D'ORO
Venice, St Mark's
 Photo Alinari

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successful and of a beauty and originality of design that seems inexplicable when one thinks of the graceless forms and the mechanical repetitions of Byzantine painters. We have already several times noted the often exceedingly beautiful and varied Byzantine capitals such as still exist in S. Sophia, in S. Vitale at Ravenna, and in St Mark's at Venice. We have seen that the ancient Corinthian and Composite capital, with its delicately chiselled acanthus in high relief, became gradually a mass of shallower, often wind-blown, foliage, with delicate drill-work; and how in course of time almost flat ornament took the place of sculpture on the surfaces of the capital and sometimes also of the dossier (pulvino). This change in the decoration of capitals illustrates the general tendency of Byzantine art from free sculpture to flat ornament, of which we have innumerable specimens in the shallow carvings that enrich cornices, architraves, and lintels as well as the parapets of galleries, choir-screens, ambones (pulpits), ciboria, etc. Many beautiful examples of such carvings exist at Ravenna and in St Mark's at Venice and elsewhere in Italy; indeed, they are found from Mesopotamia to Spain. They date from the fifth to the thirteenth century. The earliest are decidedly Oriental in character, and often imitate textile decoration; the later often show very artistic combinations of leafage and animal forms (symbolic peacocks, doves, lambs, etc.), but the Jewish avoidance of the sculptured human form persists.

Another method of surface decoration in which Byzantine artists excelled was inlaid enamel-work, in which designs stamped in metal (generally gold) were filled by a vitreous substance with the brilliancy and rich colouring of precious stones. The magnificent *pala d'oro* in St Mark's (Fig. 180) is the finest example of such enamel-work. It consists of about seventy enamelled gold plates with Biblical scenes or single figures. These are mainly Byzantine work, but the splendid gold framework is of Western design. Among the countless objects of later Byzantine metal-work may be mentioned book-covers, several specimens of which in St Mark's Treasury are of wondrous workmanship. Then we have chalices, reliquaries, caskets, and a vast amount

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of other enamelled and embossed and engraved work in gold and silver and bronze. Works of art in a higher sense of the words are the splendid bronze doors with silver encrustations. Of these fine examples (brought from Constantinople by the munificence of the Amalfi family of the Pantaleoni) are to be seen at Amalfi, Atrani, and Salerno. Fragments of another, destroyed by the great fire, are in S. Paolo fuori near Rome. Also two of the great bronze doors of the vestibule of St Mark's (Venice) were doubtless brought from Constantinople, together with the famous bronze horses—which, however, are Greek or Hellenistic work—probably after the sack of that city by the Venetians and other so-called Latin Crusaders in 1204.

Although ivory is connected in one's mind with some of the grandest statues of Greek art, such as the great chryselephantine images of Zeus and of Athene by Pheidias (the nude parts of which probably consisted externally of sawn ivory), there seems to be some reason, not very easy to discover, why even the finest ivory statuettes and the ivory reliefs of tablets, caskets, diptychs,¹ book-covers, etc., such as Byzantine carvers produced in great quantities, fail to attain what one feels to be requisite for a real work of art. Perhaps this is due to some deficiency of ivory as material, or to the association of ivory in one's mind with knick-knacks and toys, or to the fact that in looking at a picture or sculpture one's imagination unconsciously increases (or reduces) an object to its natural size, and to imagine an ivory statuette of Hercules enlarged to a full-sized figure carved from a solid mass of ivory would be impossible. Whatever the reason may be, it is very rarely indeed that an ivory carving possesses dignity. One very notable exception is the well-known diptych in the British Museum with the relief of an archangel holding in his right hand the globe and in his left a sceptre, and descending a flight of steps; another is a book-cover (in Milan Cathedral) that shows an enthroned Christ, modelled evidently on the same lines as the famous Olympian Zeus by Pheidias; still another impressive work is the so-called throne of St Maximian (who consecrated S. Apollinare in Classe in 549), made at Alexandria about

¹ Two-leaved, folding tablets, having inside waxed surfaces for writing.

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550 and brought later to Ravenna.¹ It is covered with ivory carvings. In front there is the Baptist with the Evangelists—dignified figures—framed above and below by very beautifully designed and executed reliefs of intertwining foliage and animals (peacocks, sheep, etc.); on the inside of the back are Gospel scenes, and on its outside are episodes from the life of St Joseph—all framed with reliefs of like character.

We have now noted the survival of degenerate Roman art and of early Christian and Byzantine art until a fairly late period. Meantime has been gradually springing up, probably from long-latent germs of classic art vitalized by Northern influences, a new architecture, which will engage our attention in the following chapters.

¹ Some opine it to have been given by Doge Orseolo II to the Emperor Otto III when this sentimental monarch visited Venice and Ravenna about the year 1000, as related in *Medieval Italy*, p. 420.

PART V

THE ROMANESQUE ERA

CHAPTER I

EARLY ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE (c. 600–800)

THE epithet 'Romanesque' is sometimes applied to all round-arch styles of medieval architecture derived from the Roman. Some indeed go so far as to call even Gothic a form of Romanesque, seeing that the ribbed vault and the pointed arch were developed from cross barrel-vaulting and the round arch. But it may be better to regard the basilican style, the Byzantine, the Romanesque, and the Gothic as distinct, for the new principles that came into existence with the column-supported arch, the pendentive-supported dome, and the pointed, or broken, arch denote the evolution of new species, and one may justly regard as a distinct species what is commonly called 'Romanesque,' namely that round-arch architecture which, originating doubtless from a study of ancient Roman work and but little influenced by the basilican and Byzantine styles, was so prevalent in Western Christendom from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.

The rapid, wide, and deep-rooted extension of the new architecture in these countries has caused great divergence of opinions as to the original source of the style, and great unfairness in treating the subject, writers often ignoring, from patriotic or theoretic motives, not only logic but even the existence of many superb buildings that testify against them. The question is, firstly, whether not only the grand Norman churches of Normandy, England, and Sicily, but also the splendid Romanesque churches of France and Belgium and Germany—of Angoulême, Toulouse, Arles, Tournai, Trèves, Worms, Speyer, and Mainz—as well as the

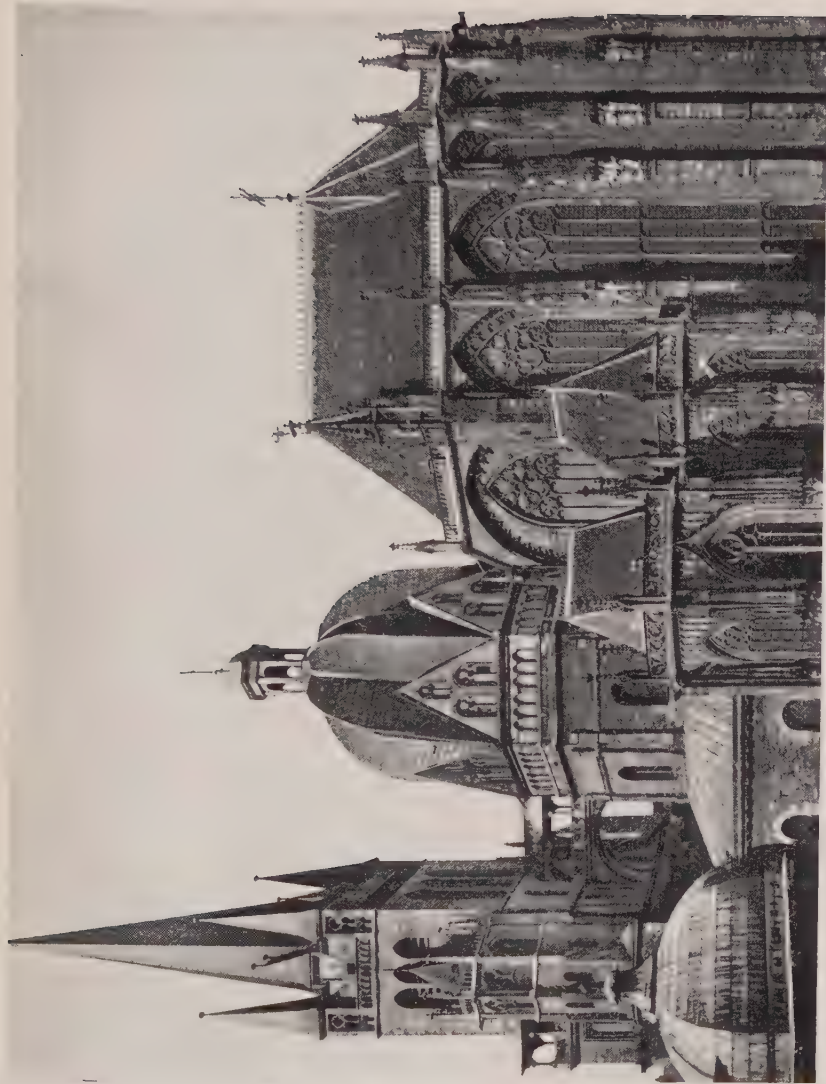
THE ROMANESQUE ERA

Lombard-Romanesque churches of Italy, were all derived, as some would have us believe, from the creations of Northern—perhaps Viking—master-builders and spread southward over the Alps as far as Norman Sicily. Or, secondly, are we to suppose that by some strange coincidence buildings in almost the same style—that ‘Carolingian’ style of which some writers speak¹—arose independently and simultaneously in all these different countries? Or, thirdly and lastly, did this style originate in Lombardy and find its way (to some extent before, and to a much greater extent after, the days of Charles the Great) over the Alps and down the Rhine and thence to Burgundy and Normandy and England?²

This last supposition seems to be the most reasonable, and in spite of patriotism I regard as probable the Lombard origin, all the more because two, or even three, centuries before the beginning of the great Romanesque era some exceedingly beautiful work of Romanesque character was being produced in Lombardy. This first dawn of the new style (c. 600) was followed by a long period of obscurity, not unlike that Dark Age which in the evolution of Greek art followed the Dorian conquest. Then, with a strange suddenness, sprang forth (c. 1000) in wonderful perfection the new style, and rapidly extended itself over much of Western and Northern Christendom—the rapidity of this extension being easily explainable by the fact that master-builders and workmen were often summoned great distances from well-known centres of architecture. In the same way as Venice and Ravenna sent to Constantinople for Byzantine builders, Charles the Great and many other princes, as well as cities, doubtless procured from Italy skilful Romanesque architects, such as so-called ‘Comacine masters’; and the characteristics of this Lombard

¹ As Charles the Great began to reign in 768, one can hardly call ‘Carolingian’ the early Italian Romanesque which dates from about 600. Doubtless Charles and his Franks did much to spread the new style through Western and Northern Europe. We have already seen (p. 196 *n.*) how Charles had his Dom at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) built on the Byzantine plan of S. Vitale (see also p. 239).

² It may have reached these parts also by other routes, for the Normans of South Italy and Sicily, who were in contact with the Lombards of Southern Italy, had direct connexions with their kinsmen in Northern lands some half-century before William began to build his mighty Saint-Etienne in Caen; and six years before the Conquest (*i.e.*, in 1060) Robert Guiscard was building churches in Salerno and other places in Lombard Romanesque style, later introduced into Sicily.



181. THE MINSTER, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE
Central part built by Charles the Great, c. 800
Photo N.P.G.



182. 'THEODELINDA'S 'HEN AND CHICKENS'

Perhaps signifying the Queen with her seven Lombard dukes

Monza

Photo G. Bianchi, Monza

ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE

Romanesque are found not only in Germany and France but even in England.

Let us now, firstly, consider the Early Romanesque, which, if this hypothesis is right, we must regard as Roman-Lombard work, namely work produced by Italian craftsmen imbued with the still existent spirit of ancient Roman architecture, but working under Lombard conquerors and evidently accommodating themselves to the tastes and requirements of the dominant race.

We have seen that the degenerate Roman architecture of Constantine's days developed new life by finding new forms of expression, such as the arch-bearing column and the pendentive-borne dome. But even while S. Sophia and S. Vitale and the splendid basilicas of Rome¹ and Ravenna were being erected there evidently still existed a school of builders that maintained the traditions of the classic style—the followers of the architects who had built the mausoleums at Ravenna of Galla Placidia and of Theoderic. There is good reason to suppose that at Rome existed guilds, or brotherhoods (*scholae*), which transmitted the ancient spirit, ready to manifest itself in a new form whenever the requisite conditions presented themselves. It must be confessed that the supposed relics of this school are rare and of uncertain provenance, but beautiful specimens of architecture and sculpture of this age do certainly exist in Italy which are neither basilican nor Byzantine, and may be attributed to masters of these Roman *scholae* who found their way to the Roman and Ostrogothic courts of Ravenna, and to the northern exarchate, and the islands of Venetia, as well as to the larger cities of South Italy, in all of which places are discovered traces of work that may be theirs.²

But we find traces far more distinct of Roman craftsmen in Northern Italy during the early domination of the Lombards. At first these Lombards were said by old chroniclers to have been a *gens sceleratissima*. They were doubtless

¹ Among the Roman basilicas then built or rebuilt are S. Lorenzo fuori (restored sixth century), S. Agnese fuori, S. Giorgio in Velabro, S. Maria in Cosmedin (all built or wholly rebuilt in seventh century), S. Saba, S. Maria della Navicella, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, S. Prassede (the last rebuilt in ninth century).

² E.g., columns, capitals, reliefs, etc., at Brescia (S. Salvatore), Torcello, Grado, Cividale, Toscanella, Naples (S. Restituita), etc.

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barbarous, though not brutal and ferocious like the Goths; and with surprising rapidity they developed enthusiasm for the arts and refinements of the land they had conquered, and even in the days of Queen Theodelinda they began, it is said, to contemplate with amazement the portraits of their fathers—those long-bearded and strangely accoutred warriors who had invaded Italy.¹ This queen built churches or towers at Pavia, Cremona, and Bergamo, and at Monza, near Milan, she rebuilt (c. 590) the palace of Theoderic and adorned it with frescos, and adjoining it she erected a fine church of which, besides some capitals with characteristic Lombard carvings of birds and beasts, there exists, above the portal of the present cathedral, a most interesting relief representing her (probably) offering her crowns—one being doubtless the famous Iron Crown of Lombardy—to S. Giovanni. It also represents other objects of her celebrated Monza Treasury, such as the golden cross given to her little son by Gregory the Great and the ‘Hen and Chickens of Theodelinda’—a wonderful specimen of early Lombard *oreficeria* (Fig. 182; and for the Iron Crown Fig. 185).

Now, whence did Theodelinda get her builders and sculptors? We are told that her husband, King Agilulf, procured ‘Italian shipwrights.’ Were also these architects Italian? Or were they ‘Greeks’ (Byzantines) from Ravenna? Or were her churches and palaces built by her Lombard subjects themselves—perhaps in rough stone imitation of Northern wooden structures?² All these theories have supporters, and there is another which seems plausible, namely that which is founded on the fact that chroniclers of this early Lombard period make mention of *magistri Comacini*, who were granted various privileges by King Rotharis (c. 640) and who are by some writers believed to have been master-builders trained in Roman guilds (*scholae*) and to have found their way northward (Rome being then in a miserable state artistically) and to have settled on the little island in Lake Como still called Isola Comacina, whence they extended

¹ Gibbon describes them clothed in varicoloured linen, with heads shaven behind, long beards (hence their name), and shaggy locks hanging over their faces.

² See *Stones of Venice*, i, 27. Possibly unskilful building accounts for the almost total disappearance of primitive Lombard churches.

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their architectural activities over Lombardy.¹ Whether this is true, or whether the word merely means 'brother masons' (*co-macienes*), and possibly has some connexion with 'freemasonry,' is not easy to decide;² but it is a seductive hypothesis that 'Comacine' and possibly other Italian (Roman ?) architects and sculptors were employed by the Lombard conquerors; and perhaps one may suggest that the exquisite proportions and beauty of Romanesque buildings, when that style after long obscurity appeared in its perfection, were due to the fact that the Italian masters developed the new style by adapting classic models to some extent to Northland requirements, while the grotesqueness of much early Roman-Lombard and even much later Romanesque sculpture may be explained by supposing that the Italian sculptors had to accommodate themselves in such details to the tastes of the barbarian invader, whose delight in monstrosities and whose total insensibility to ugliness are manifested in many carvings on both sides of the Alps. The following are some of the, sometimes very scanty, relics of buildings erected in the Roman-Lombard or Early Romanesque period—from the coming of the Lombards (568) to the coronation in Rome of Charles the Great (800).

The first Lombard basilica mentioned by chroniclers was built near Bergamo by Theodelinda's first husband, King Antharis (*d.* 590). Of Theodelinda's Monza basilica—a building with octagonal centre—there exist only some columns with capitals worked over with 'Lombard' birds and beasts. (But this architecture might have been rather of Byzantine than Roman-Lombard style.) Of the original S. Michele in Pavia a few characteristic Lombard capitals survive.³ Padua's cathedral possesses perhaps the earliest (restored) Lombard façade, with blind arcades and round windows and portals. (The grand Romanesque wheel- or rose-windows came later.) At Brescia the old S. Salvatore

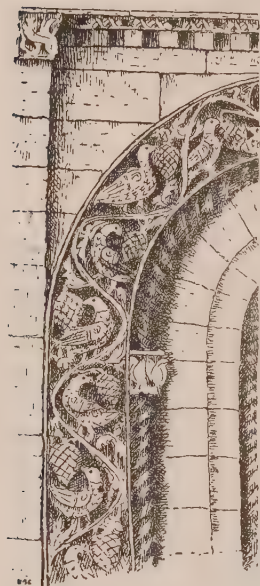
¹ Before and after this period the Isola Comacina was often used as a stronghold. Its forts were razed in 1160 for having sided with Milan. The large villa upon it was lately bequeathed to the King of the Belgians, and by him given to the Milanese Brera Academy, which intends to use it as a home for artists.

² Sir T. G. Jackson in his fine book on Romanesque architecture suggests that a 'freemason' was originally a worker in *freestone* (soft, sandy stone).

³ Pavia is said to have had 167 churches! It was the Lombard capital, and in S. Michele, or S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro, the kings received the Iron Crown.

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has lovely white marble capitals with carved foliage, probably imitated from Roman or Byzantine models, and possibly Comacine work, while other capitals show Lombard grotesqueness. S. Frediano at Lucca (built by an Irish archbishop,



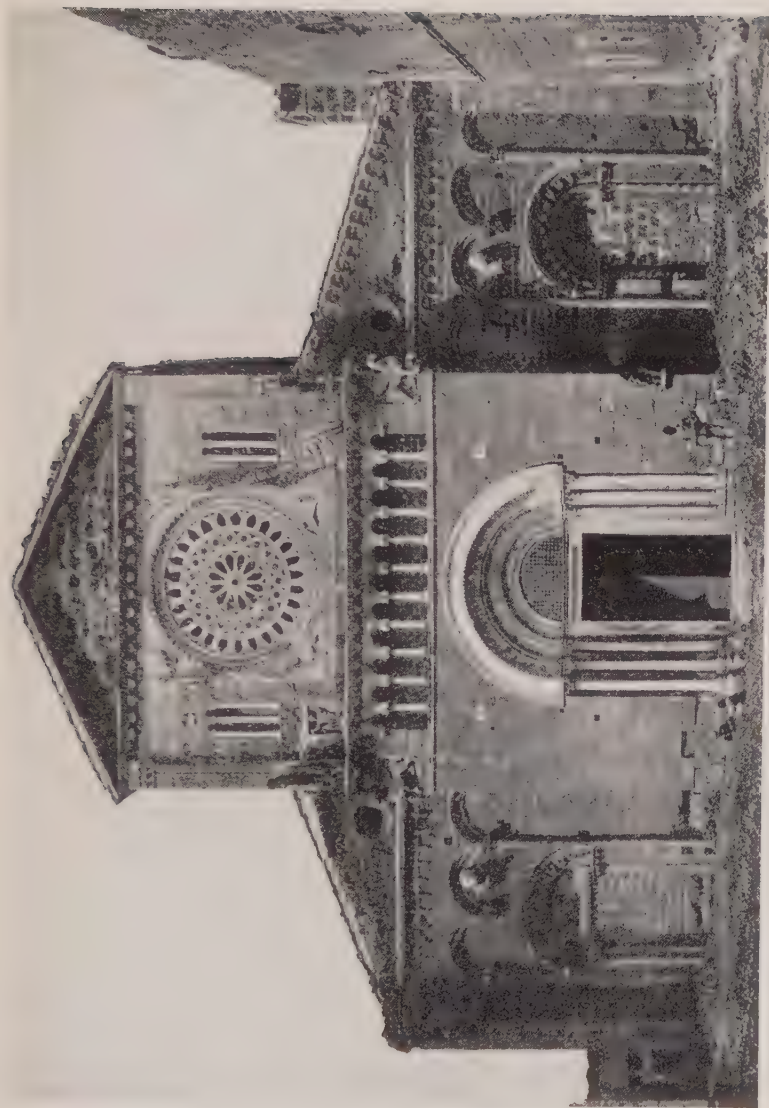
LOMBARD WORK AT S.
ABBONDIO, NEAR COMO

c. 570) has fine classical or Roman-Lombard capitals and an apsidal arcade with a classic architrave—all possibly Comacine work. At Pavia is the celebrated S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro, built probably by Theodelinda and rebuilt (*c.* 730) by King Liutprand, who brought thither the bones of St Augustine.¹ Of the original church only a few capitals and a part of the façade survive, the beautiful Romanesque portal dating (says Mothes, a good authority) from about 950. Then we have early Lombardic sculpture (see illustration) on the rebuilt S. Abbondio near Como, and other relics in Lucca Cathedral, in the Pieve di Arliano near Lucca, in S. Maria della Valle at Cividale (*c.* 730), in the Basilica of Grado, S. Fedele at Como, S. Ambrogio and S. Vincenzo in Prato at Milan, and (of a somewhat later date) in

the most interesting S. Piero a Grado near Marina di Pisa, where St Peter is said by some to have first landed in Italy.

But by far the most complete and beautiful relic of this pre-Carolingian Romanesque is to be seen at Toscanella, near Viterbo, in what was once South Lombard Tuscany. Here there are two basilicas. That of S. Pietro, erected first in 628, was rebuilt—probably by a Comacine master named Rodpert—in 740; and much of the fine interior dates from this period. Some of the columns and capitals are classical Comacine work, if not actually antique; others are decidedly Lombard, but show no Northern grotesqueness. The very beautifully proportioned exteriors, with their round-arched

¹ About A.D. 1000 the body of Boëthius was also transferred thither. See Dante, *Par.* x, 127.



183. S. PIETRO, TOSCANELLA
Photo Anderson

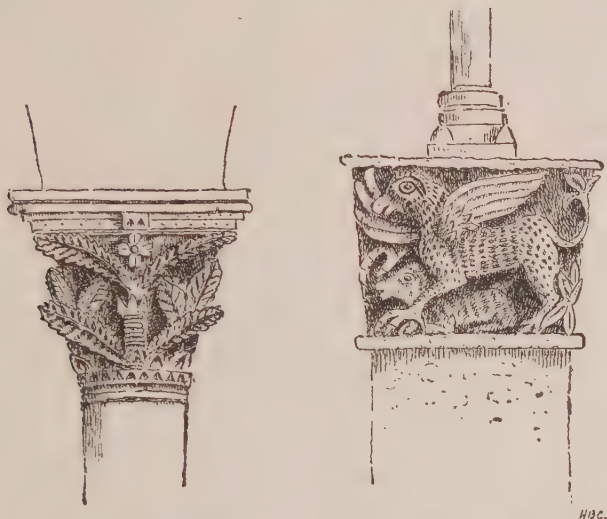


184. S. AMBROGIO, MILAN
Photo Brogi

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and recessed portals and their magnificent wheel- and rose-windows, are later work, dating from about A.D. 1000.

The early Italian Romanesque, or Roman-Lombard, style was doubtless introduced long before the Carolingian era into France and Germany, and even into Britain. In France there are of this period only very rare and dubious remains. The Baptistry of Saint-Jean at Poitiers is prob-



S. PIETRO, TOSCANELLA

S. AMBROGIO, MILAN

ably an ancient Roman building restored, about 950, in Romanesque style. A Romanesque crypt at Grenoble and ruins at Germigny show Byzantine features (dosseret, etc.) like the Chapel Royal of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle.

In Germany, along the great waterway of the Rhine, we find the relics of the famous Abbey of Lauresheim at Lorsch (near Worms), founded in the reign of Pipin the Short (*c.* 767). At Cologne the original of S. Maria im Capitol (now a mere imitation) was doubtless built in Roman-Lombard style about the eighth century. The splendid church at Trèves on the Moselle claims to be the oldest in Germany. It stands probably on the remains of an ancient Roman temple (of the same period as the grand Porta Nigra in the same city) that was converted into a Christian

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church and, having been burnt down, was rebuilt in Roman-Lombard style (*c.* 600), as is proved by remains of arches and sculptures that resemble very closely those of Lombardy in the days of Theodelinda.¹

As for the British Isles—although ancient Celtic art² in some other respects attained a wonderful degree of excellence and continued to develop in Ireland long after it was extinguished in Britain proper by Roman influences and then by Anglo-Saxon savagery, there is nothing remaining of Irish architecture dating from the Early Romanesque period (down to A.D. 800 or even 1000) except stone forts and enclosures of undressed Cyclopean masonry and small 'bee-hive' huts, oratories, etc.; and for a long time after the introduction of mortar and dressed stone no sign (says Sir W. Armstrong) of aesthetic ambition is discoverable except in an occasional doorway or window.³ Britain, on the contrary, was open to Southern influences—first that of the Romans, whose architecture in Britain was, however, mainly military and left scarcely any permanent impression; then that of the early missionaries, whose chief monasteries and other buildings were probably of a Roman character and were to a large extent destroyed by the deluge of ferocious pagan Angles and Saxons—the British Church finding refuge in Scotland and Ireland. Then came the conversion of these pagans (*c.* 600) by the later St Augustine and other apostles of the Roman Church; then the beginnings

¹ It was wholly rebuilt in later Romanesque style in the eleventh century, and is disfigured by more modern steeples, etc.

² The 'Iberian' aborigines of our islands have left, besides other cromlechs, dolmens, etc., a huge and mysterious relic of the Stone Age, viz., Stonehenge, the date of which is probably earlier than 2000 B.C. The Celts invaded in two great waves. The Goidels (Gaelic Celts) held the country during the Bronze Age, say from 1500 B.C. to 300 B.C., when the Brythonic (Breton) Celts came, and the Iron Age began, the Gaels retreating to Ireland and Scotland and the Isle of Man. The engraved and *repoussé* decoration, and the forms, of many things of bronze and gold wrought by these earlier Celts in Ireland are exceedingly beautiful, but the decoration is only linear, no attempt being made to reproduce living objects (perhaps from such dread of maleficent charms as we see in ancient Cretan and Greek as well as in Saracen art). Enamelling was also brought to a wonderful degree of perfection. Coinage was used as early as 200 B.C. In the Christian age of Celtic art (St Patrick's date is *c.* 430) we have metal-work with the old motives richly developed, and miniature illumination (after *c.* 650) and the famous carved High Crosses, of which half a dozen fine examples are extant. See Fig. 191.

³ The 'Round Towers' (found also in Scotland and elsewhere) were probably built as refuges from the attacks of piratical Northmen.

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of that 'Anglo-Saxon' architecture the products of which used to be imagined as merely wood and thatch structures, no longer existent, but are now recognized in many churches that were formerly classed as 'Roman-British' or 'Norman,' and are evidently (as Sir W. Armstrong seems inclined to allow) largely the results of Early Romanesque influences that came from Southern Europe—perhaps originally from Lombardy.

It was about 670, they say, that builders began to come to Britain—now called the land of the Angles. These builders do not seem to have taught the dominant race very successfully, for the relics of the 'Saxon' architecture, as it is called, of the next hundred years or so show very little knowledge of the elementary principles of construction. There is 'no sign of being alive to that play of forces which goes on in every built-up structure'—no attempt at counter-acting thrust and creating equipoise—the edifices being 'like boxes.' The rare windows and the doors are round-arched and the piers massive, and there is an evident attempt to imitate Roman methods of construction, ancient Roman material being also freely used. In time, probably after the advent of better master-builders, versed in Romanesque architecture, Saxon churches showed a surprising improvement in proportion and equilibrium, and a great increase in number, especially between A.D. 800 and 1000; and toward the end of this period they became in some respects so similar to later Norman buildings as to have been often classed as such. This fact seems to justify the supposition that Continental, perhaps Italian, builders introduced into England the Early Romanesque style before the advent from Normandy of that 'Norman' style which was itself derived from Lombard sources. And the supposition is confirmed by the presence in some of these Anglo-Saxon churches of external decoration by shallow or blind arcades, a feature strongly reminiscent of Italian Romanesque.

Among the rare relics of the earliest Saxon period are the remains of two churches (St Pancras and St Martin) at Canterbury, of others at Stone, near Faversham, at Corbridge in Northumberland, and at Brixworth in Northamptonshire. The last-named, built c. 680, is constructed

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largely of Roman material. It has been much rebuilt and has lost its aisles, but still possesses some original deep-set, Lombard-like windows and a massive square tower, to which is attached a round tower, somewhat like a campanile, containing a stair. Of the 173 churches (including Westminster Abbey) that are said to contain more or less Saxon work, by far the most important is Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, which some believe to consist largely (under a crust of Norman and Gothic) of the original structure erected by Ethelred the Unready after his slaughter of the Danes in 1002.

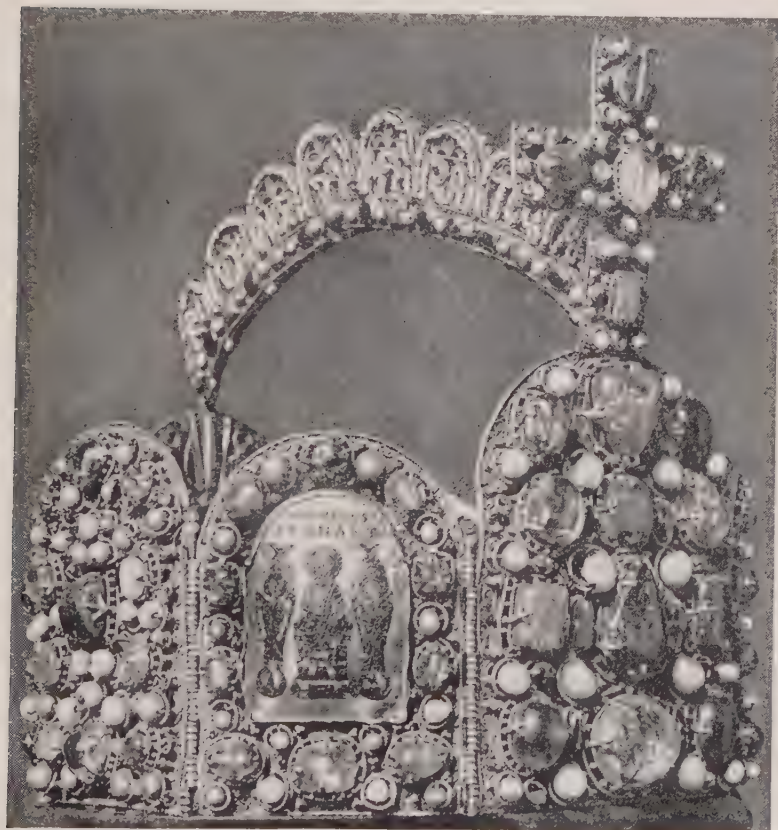


185. THE IRON CROWN

Used by the Lombard kings 568-774, and later by the Frank and German monarchy.
Interior said to be made of a nail of the Cross. Jewels added about 1100

Monza

Photo G. Bianchi, Monza

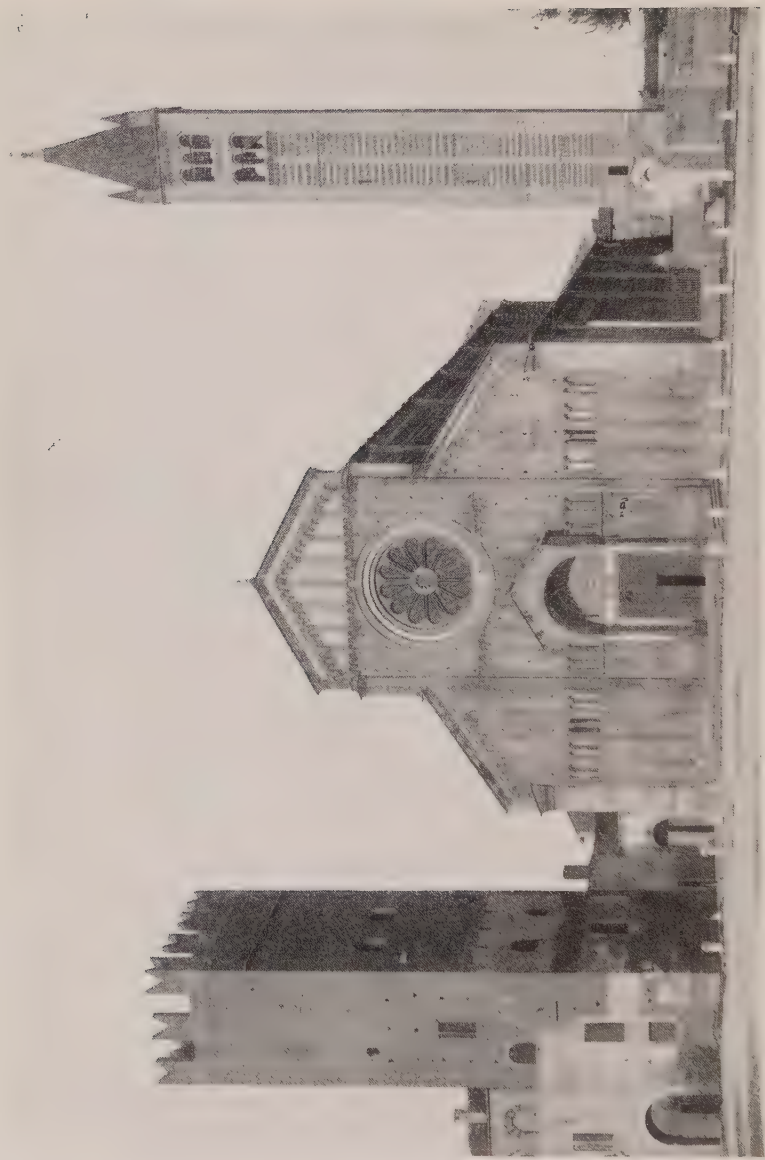


186. SO-CALLED CROWN OF CHARLES THE GREAT

The arched diadem added for coronation of Conrad II in 1027

Vienna

Photo S. Schramm, Vienna



187. S. ZENO (MAGGIORE), VERONA

Photo Alinari

CHAPTER II

LATER SOUTHERN ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE (c. 1000-1200)

THE period of Early Romanesque, or Roman-Lombard, architecture may be considered to have extended to about A.D. 800, when Charles the Great was crowned as Emperor in Rome by Leo III. Charles and his Frank nobility doubtless did much toward introducing Italian civilization into his vast dominions. His palace-chapel, the Dom, at Aix-la-Chapelle, imitated from S. Vitale at Ravenna, and the fact that he carried off a great number of splendid marbles and sculptures from Theoderic's palace, go to prove his admiration of Southern art. But after his death in 814 half a dozen of his descendants, the 'Carolingian Emperors,' and then a number of so-called 'Italian Kings,' misruled Italy, and the state of things in that country was such that one may apply the epithet 'Dark' more fitly to the ninth and tenth centuries than to any other part of the Middle Ages.¹ During this period all Italian art suffered great obscurity and in some quarters (Rome among them) almost total eclipse. We shall therefore find that there is a gap of about two centuries between the early Roman-Lombard architecture and that sudden and glorious outburst of the later Romanesque which took place about the year 1000.

For the suddenness and the extent of this outburst there is, perhaps, a discernible reason. During centuries the dread had been brooding over Christendom that the world was to come to an end in this year—A.D. 1000—and as the fatal year approached gloom and dismay may have made men turn from all things of beauty as superfluous

¹ See *Medieval Italy*, Part IV, Chapter I. Venice, as usual, was an exception. St Mark's, the Doges' Palace, S. Zaccaria, and the present Torcello Cathedral were all originally erected during the ninth century.

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and impertinent.¹ However that may be, soon after A.D. 1000 the Christian world was seized with the desire to build splendid temples—‘to cast aside its old attire,’ as the Benedictine, Raoul Glaber, says, writing about 1045, ‘and to put on the white robe of new-built churches’ (*candidam ecclesiarum vestem induere*). And ere long, mainly through the all-powerful organization of the Benedictine monks, Western Christendom was enriched with a great number of magnificent fanes.²

Let us first consider some of the main features of this later Romanesque—or, as some would call it, ‘Monastic’—architecture. I shall then, in this and the following chapter, give a fairly full list of the chief Romanesque buildings erected in lands south and north of the Alps during this period (say, A.D. 1000 to 1200), including the Norman churches of Normandy, Sicily, and England.

The general plan of the later Romanesque church resembles that of a Latin-cross basilica, with porch or narthex, with two or four or even six aisles, with choir (sometimes under a central, Byzantine-like dome), and with apse and frequently apsidal or other side-chapels. A new feature in Northern (not always in Italian) Romanesque is the use of the vault instead of the open timber roof or flat wooden ceiling. At first the old Roman, plain, barrel- or wagon-vaulting was used, and only for the aisles; then the nave was similarly covered by one long tunnel with a transverse supporting arch here and there. Then it was divided into square bays, each of which was covered by an ‘intersecting vault’—known also to the Romans—formed by the crossing at right angles of two barrel vaults of equal height. At their junctions these two barrel vaults create

¹ The old European world *did*, in a sense, come to an end somewhere about A.D. 1000, for after the cessation of earlier barbarian invasions the whole political, social, and religious constitution was transformed by chivalry and the great development of the feudal system. A similar outburst in literature took place a little later—e.g., the *gestes* and *romans* and *chansons*, etc., of Charlemagne, and Arthurian legends, and the Siegfried and Nibelungen poems, besides all the Romance poetry due to chivalry and the fully developed feudal system.

² The immense vogue of pilgrimages began in the preceding Dark Age, and the transport from the Roman catacombs and elsewhere of enormous quantities of relics (bones and corpses of supposed saints) accounts perhaps largely for the origin, as well as for the size and magnificence, of the churches of this period—for precious relics and great crowds of pilgrims necessitated grand structures, which were built by the contributions of the faithful.



188. FERRARA CATHEDRAL
Dates from c. 1135. Later Gothicized
Photo Alinari



189. BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND CAMPANILE, PISA

Photo Brogi

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protruding groins. These groins were converted by masonry into two diagonal arches or 'ribs,' thus forming the so-called ribbed vault. Also between such vaults across the nave or aisle were thrown strongly projecting transverse arches, called in French Romanesque *arcs doubleaux*, which 'rested in the interior,' says M. Hourticq in his *Art in France*, 'on the dosserets, or impost blocks of the columns, and were strengthened on the exterior by buttresses.' Indeed, such an *arc doubleau* often actually rested on an external buttress or immured pier. Nay more, sometimes the aisle was covered by only *half* the barrel vault, the other half of the arch protruding externally and resting on a pier not immured but detached—a distinct foreheralding of the Gothic flying buttress!

It will be noticed what an amount of ingenuity and labour was at first expended in trying to counteract the forces that had newly arisen with the reintroduction of the vault—those oblique *thrusts* which, it is said, caused to collapse so many of the Romanesque churches built in the first years of the eleventh century.¹ In fact it was for some time considered necessary to contract the breadth of aisles and nave, and to use very massive piers and thick, low, buttressed walls. The new architecture had to struggle with material, and its structures rose tentatively, apprehensive of unknown, hostile forces. In time, however, the builders learnt the principles of equipoise and adopted means to conceal effort, converting, for instance, the clumsily massive single pier into a composite mass of pillars—the precursor of the clustered shafts of Gothic.

The exteriors of Romanesque churches differ very much from those of basilicas and Byzantine churches. In the basilica all the splendours of marbles and carvings and mosaics were reserved for the interior. At the first sight of the barn-like exterior of, say, the Torcello basilica or of S. Apollinare in Classe some of us have probably felt somewhat consternated, while the external marbles and mosaics

¹ Something similar happened with the first great Byzantine domes. That of S. Sophia soon collapsed and was rebuilt of very light, porous brick. (The dome of S. Vitale at Ravenna is for a like reason constructed of hollow earthenware vessels.) Some great Romanesque churches, as the Norman churches of Caen, could not be vaulted, because the side-thrusts were too great, till the pointed vault was invented.

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of St Mark's have been perhaps criticized by us as somewhat too gaudy to be in good taste. We Northerners, as a rule, although we often stand aghast at the 'ugliness' of undecorated surface, prefer for decoration, especially external decoration, the almost colourless play of light and shade; and in Lombard Romanesque, although the form was doubtless Roman, the spirit was Northern—a fact that probably accounts for the wonderful ease with which the style extended north of the Alps, developing national and even local varieties. This Northern spirit is very perceptible even in the early Italian Romanesque. Although the Lombard was able to procure—often able to steal from ancient buildings—splendid marble columns, and did use at times a mixture of coloured marble and brick and stone that is very beautiful,¹ the chief decorative effect was produced by the play of light and shade amid arcades and mouldings and colonnaded façades and overhanging corbels and beautiful, deeply recessed portals and windows, which catch the shade and offer a foil to the gleam of white marble reliefs and capitals.

(a) Lombardy and Emilia

The Romanesque of Lombardy, as one might expect from its half-Northern nature, is more vigorous than graceful, and sometimes inclines toward the fantastic and grotesque in decoration. Its chief external characteristics are grand colonnaded and sculptured façades, blind and open arcade decoration, especially of the apse, deeply recessed and pillared portals and windows, projecting porches with columns often resting on sculptured lions, superb campanili, and (in later examples) magnificent wheel- or rose-windows.² Some of the finest specimens are the following. It will be

¹ *E.g.*, in the Murano basilica, pictured by Ruskin. In Tuscan Romanesque the exterior is sometimes (Pisa, Lucca, S. Miniato at Florence, etc.) cased with coloured marbles and decorated with mosaics in the Byzantine style.

² The old basilicas had sometimes round campanili (as at Ravenna), but those of Italian Romanesque, except the Leaning Tower of Pisa, are square—sometimes topped with a Gothic spire, as at Modena. In Lombardy and Tuscany each storey has frequently an additional window, whereas in the beautiful Roman campanili of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (*e.g.*, S. Maria in Cosmedin and S. Maria Trastevere) each storey above the basement has three or two. In Rome there is hardly a trace of Romanesque influence.



190. PALACES LOREDAN AND FARSETTI, VENICE
Venetian Romanesque of c. 1150
Photo Anderson



191. THE CROSS OF MUIREDACH AT MONASTERBOICE
Celtic work, probably by Abbot Muiredach, who died in 924

See p. 236 *n.*

Photo W. Lawrence. Dublin

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noticed that vaulting is not always present, the influence of the wood-roofed basilica being still strong.

S. Ambrogio (Milan). Founded by S. Ambrose *c.* 380; rebuilt in ninth century, whence date the early Romanesque atrium and some of the exterior of the church (Fig. 184). The ribbed vaulting of the interior evidently dates from the reconstruction in later Romanesque style, *c.* 1140, when also the campanile was erected. (Clustered shafts with pilasters shooting upward from their capitals are a puzzling Gothic feature at this early date. In *The Stones of Venice* we are told that the vaulting shaft is a 'petrified' form of the wooden uprights of Northern edifices and that 'this upright pilaster above the nave pier was brought to Italy by the Lombards in the seventh century, and remains to this day in S. Ambrogio and in S. Michele at Pavia.') Among other Romanesque churches which survived the destruction of Milan in 1162 by Frederick Barbarossa are S. Satiro, S. Simpliciano, S. Vincenzo in Prato, S. Sepolcro, and S. Eustorgio.

S. Michele (Pavia). Rebuilt in later Romanesque style *c.* 1050. Vaulted like S. Ambrogio. Octagonal dome. Fine recessed portal.

S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro (Pavia). Rebuilt *c.* 1100. Its simple but beautiful portal perhaps dates from *c.* 1000.

S. Zeno (Verona): *c.* 1070-1140. A grand example of Italian Romanesque with flat timber roof supported by alternate piers and columns. The Gothic choir dates from *c.* 1260. (See Fig. 187.)

The *Duomo* of Parma: *c.* 1060-1200. Massive piers and 'intersecting' vaults. Octagonal dome (famous for Correggio's frescos).

The *Duomo* of Modena (1099-1184), with Gothic pointed vaulting; of *Cremona* (1107-90); *Piacenza* (1122-1200); *Ferrara* (1135-1200) (see Fig. 188).

(b) Tuscany

Besides very numerous town and country churches that still preserve Romanesque features but are of no great artistic importance, Tuscany offers two very interesting varieties.¹ One is the Pisan, of which we have a very magnificent example in the wonderful group (Fig. 189) of the *Duomo*, the Leaning Tower, and the Baptistery (the last with Gothic adornments of the fourteenth century on its upper half). The *Duomo*, begun in 1006, was much enlarged and adorned after the defeat of the Saracens and the capture of Sardinia in 1063. It is 312 feet long, is built mainly

¹ Many village churches in Liguria and Tuscany have remains of Romanesque façades and windows and portals and interiors and campanili—all generally much modernized. Venice, more receptive of Eastern than Italian influences, as usual was slow to adopt the new mainland style; but it possesses some beautiful Romanesque work, such as the Loredan and Farsetti palaces (Fig. 190). One may here mention the cathedral of Genoa (S. Lorenzo), which retains fine columns and portals of the original Romanesque edifice.

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of white and black marble, and has double aisles (also transept aisles) and an elliptical dome. The nave is flanked by sixty-eight splendid marble columns, derived from ancient Roman and Greek temples, some having been brought perhaps from Africa and Sicily. The internal roof is of wood, flat and coffered. The most distinctive Pisan feature is the façade, which, like the campanile (both begun *c.* 1130-70), is adorned with tiers of very beautifully proportioned open arcades. At Pisa there are several other Romanesque churches, some of which (*e.g.*, S. Paolo and S. Caterina) have Pisan façades.

At Lucca the Duomo, much Gothicized, retains a fine square Romanesque campanile and a Pisan façade of considerable beauty, though it shows none of the exquisite proportions and grace of the prototype at Pisa. There are at Lucca several other such façades, the most conspicuous of which, that of S. Michele (rebuilt last century), shows a painful lack of artistic sincerity and modesty, for the gable soars up to a great height above the roof, like a poster-board, in order to display its rather meretricious attractions.

Florentine Romanesque has almost entirely disappeared, but besides relics of it that survive in SS. Apostoli (the little church that, legend says, was founded by Charlemagne) and S. Spirito and S. Lorenzo, there exists one very celebrated and perfect specimen—S. Miniato—called by Dante ‘the church that above Rubaconte [the Ponte alle Grazie] dominates the well-guided [*i.e.*, ill-guided] city.’ In some respects it resembles a basilica rather than a Romanesque church, and is a proof that the Florentines were as jealously adverse to introducing a Lombard or Pisan style unmodified as they were in the case of Gothic and Renaissance architecture. The interior, with its open timber roofing, its (mostly sham) marble columns bearing a marble inlaid triforium, its elevated choir, and the façade gay with marble used as surface decoration (though perhaps this is a late addition), reminds one rather of Byzantine than Romanesque methods.¹

At the epoch when Romanesque was in its early prime, Florence, under her margraves, was very aloof, self-sufficient, and frequently at war with Pisa, so it is not surprising that

¹ Possibly the very strong influence of Byzantine (‘Greek’) artists at Florence up to the age of Giotto accounted for the Florentine taste for marble surface decoration—of which the so-called Gothic Duomo gives a very curious example.



192. LA CAPPELLA PALATINA, PALERMO

Built about 1130

Photo Alinari



193. CATHEDRAL OF MONREALE

Built 1171-89. See p. 212

Photo Alinari

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the Lombard and Pisan architecture was not welcomed. But in other cities of Tuscany there are some very beautiful relics of veritable (not Pisan) Romanesque work, *e.g.*, at Toscanella, where the splendid rose-windows and portals of S. Pietro (Fig. 183) and S. Maria Maggiore date from *c.* 1040. At Volterra the Duomo was once a fine Romanesque building, and the ancient Baptistery has a finely proportioned but simple Romanesque portal. At San Gimignano there are several churches of the twelfth century, and the Duomo, or 'Collegiata' (*c.* 1150), has a fine Romanesque nave with columns.

(c) Central and Southern Italy

The Lombards extended their supremacy to Central and South Italy, and here came in contact with the Byzantines and the Saracens. At Spoleto and Benevento, two chief cities of the Lombard dukes, the cathedrals (*c.* 1050) show a combination of Romanesque and Saracenic styles. A still more curious specimen is the Hospice Church of Aquila. In Campania, Apulia, and Calabria there exist, moreover, many churches (mostly barbarously spoilt) which were originally Romanesque, or were Byzantine buildings with fine domes and were rebuilt by the Normans in Sicilian Romanesque (Sicilian Norman)—a style which shows frequently a touch of Saracenic. At Amalfi and Ravello there are cathedrals, badly spoilt by restorers, which still show remarkable South Italian Romanesque work, as also does the Duomo of Salerno, built by Robert Guiscard (*c.* 1070). At Bari several Byzantine churches have Romanesque, or Sicilian Norman, additions of the time of King Roger of Sicily (*c.* 1140), as has also the five-domed Byzantine church of S. Sabino at Canosa, where the son of Robert Guiscard, Boemond, has his tomb.

(d) Sicily

Sicily has frequently been, from before the age of Homer onward during three thousand years and more, a battlefield of races. Siculi, Elymi, Phoenicians, Hellenes, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Byzantines, Saracens, Normans, Germans (the Hohenstauffer), French

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(the Angevins), Aragonese, Spanish—all have in turn held sway in the island. No wonder then that the architectural remains show considerable diversity of style. For more than 240 years (840–1072) the Saracens were the paramount power and in possession of Palermo, a city of some 300,000 inhabitants and of about three hundred mosques. These Moslems had assimilated much from previous Byzantine civilization, and the Normans in their turn, instead of extirpating the infidels, gave them considerable religious and civil liberty, and borrowed much from their science and their art. Naturally, therefore, Sicilian architecture of the Norman period shows Byzantine and Saracenic elements combined with that Romanesque the main source of which was probably, as we have seen, the Lombard-Romanesque of South Italy.¹

Of the many grand churches erected in and near Palermo, at Cefalù, and elsewhere in Sicily by the Norman princes, especially by King Roger and by William the Good,² some are distinctly Byzantine in plan, as the Martorana, which has a dome and three apses, S. Cataldo with three domes, and S. Giovanni degli Eremiti with five. Others are in type decidedly Romanesque (Norman); but in some of these Sicilian Romanesque churches, such as the fine cathedrals of Monreale, Cefalù, and Palermo, and in the richly decorated Cappella Palatina,³ we find distinctly pointed arches—an element probably due to Saracen influence, although of course it is to be found occasionally also in early Italian Romanesque and even in what is called pure English Norman, *e.g.*, at Fountains and Malmesbury Abbeys, which buildings were erected about the same time as King Roger's Sicilian churches.

¹ The striking similarity, however, between certain churches of Sicily and of Normandy seems to prove also the artistic connexion between these two countries which I noted under Norman-Sicilian Mosaics. The Cefalù cathedral, for instance, was evidently built (*c.* 1130) on the same plan as William the Conqueror's magnificent church of Saint-Etienne at Caen, which was finished soon after his death in 1087. Moreover, William the Good's great counsellor, the English Archbishop of Palermo, who had the curious name 'Of a Mill' (Italian *Offamilio*), built S. Spirito, near Palermo, which is distinctly reminiscent of English-Norman architecture.

² For King Roger and the Martorana see index. William the Good is immortalized by Dante, who places his star-like soul with those of other great rulers in the eye of the Eagle (*Par.* xx).

³ The 'Chapel Royal' of King Roger's palace, which was originally the castle of Saracen emirs.



194. S. GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO
Cloister and some of the five domes
Photo Alinari



195. CHARTRES CATHEDRAL—PORTALS OF THE WEST FRONT

Mainly Romanesque. See p. 281, and for tympanum see p. 265

Photo F. Frith & Co., Ltd.

CHAPTER III

NORTHERN ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE (c. 1000-c. 1180)

THE general characteristics of later Romanesque have already been given. We have now to consider the chief buildings erected during this period in lands north of the Alps—that is to say, in France, Germany, and England—and in view of the ever more multitudinous buildings with the names of which I might crowd my pages I shall henceforth (and especially when we reach the Gothic period) limit myself to comparatively few of the most important.

(a) France

Those who believe in the Northern origin of what first about 1825 began to be called Romanesque, or *l'architecture romane*, make much of the meagre evidences of the existence of a highly developed culture and of indigenous artistic genius among the peoples that formed the northern part of the vast Empire of Charlemagne—peoples which were soon to fall into the two great and adverse nations of France and Germany. But there seems very little probability that these folk, or the piratical Northmen,¹ were the originators of an architecture the main principles of which are assuredly identical with those of Roman-Lombard and are sometimes combined even with those of Byzantine architecture, as in the case of the pendentive domes of some ancient French Romanesque churches. It is surely more reasonable to suppose that these Northern peoples possessed (as was conspicuously the case with the Normans) great receptivity for the beauties of Southern art and great vigour and determination in realizing in vast and splendid structures the

¹ The Scandinavian Romanesque cathedrals (*e.g.*, of Lund, Linköping, and Roeskild) were erected by French architects.

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teachings of Southern master-builders who accompanied or followed Italian traders and missionaries, mostly Benedictine monks, across the Alps. And this seems all the more probable because, as M. Hourticq says, to travel through France in order to see the finest monuments of Romanesque—or what he calls 'Monastic'—architecture is to make a pilgrimage to the finest Benedictine abbeys.

The most famous of these Benedictine abbeys was that of Cluny in Burgundy, which was founded in 910 by Fra Berno and made itself in early days renowned as the centre of a vigorous, if not very successful, attempt at reformation.¹ It then became a very celebrated home of art and culture, which through some two thousand monasteries it spread over the greater part of Europe. By the middle of the eleventh century the Cluny school of architecture took a distinct lead in developing to a high degree all the possibilities of the Romanesque style, and the Cluny Abbey, of which unfortunately only few relics remained after its destruction during the French Revolution, was a magnificent building with four side-aisles, two transepts, a huge square central tower and six others. The main structure was built about 1090-1130, and of about the same date and probably of the same Cluny style, with massive round *arcades* and huge clustered piers, is the great Abbey Church of the Magdalene at Vézelay, as well as the cathedral church of Saint-Lazare at Autun.² The monks of Cîteau, in Burgundy (Cistercians), under the influence of St Bernard, a great foe of grandeur and magnificence, adopted a more simple and severe style, which also found wide extension through Europe by means of more than fifteen hundred Cistercian abbeys.

French Romanesque is broken up by some writers into about a dozen different schools besides that of Burgundy, namely those of Provence, Périgord, Limousin, Poitou, Auvergne, Normandy, etc. It will perhaps suffice to mention a few of the finest buildings and note certain interesting characteristics.

¹ In course of time many of the Benedictine monasteries had become 'dens of vice,' as St Benedict himself called them when Dante met him in Paradise.

² Lazarus, says a legend, came to the south of France, landing at Camargue. His supposed relics, moreover, and those of the three Marys attracted innumerable pilgrims to Autun, Vézelay, and other cities of this region.



196. NOTRE-DAME, POITIERS
N.D. Photo



197. SAINT-SERNIN (SATURNIN), TOULOUSE

N.D. Photo

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The Romanesque of Provence is especially interesting as being closely related to ancient Roman architecture, somewhat in the same way as the old Provençal or 'Romance' dialect is related to Latin. The many and impressive Roman remains in this region (the arenas, theatres, arches, gates, and the mighty Pont du Gard), as well as the very numerous Roman ruins and other relics used by early Provençal builders, would naturally tend to give the Romanesque of Provence many classic features, such as fluted columns with Corinthian or Composite capitals, barrel-vaulting, etc.; but the latest experts are apparently inclined to class this Provençal species of Romanesque as a variety of that of Burgundy (which in the Middle Ages included much of Provence). However that may be, one of the most perfectly proportioned and dignified Romanesque churches in existence, reminding one of the finest specimens of the early Roman-Lombard style, is Saint-Trophime, at Arles, the portal and the cloisters of which are very beautiful (Fig. 206). Also the cloisters of Moissac (Languedoc) are renowned.

An interesting feature of some great churches of Southwest France, from the Loire to the Pyrenees (Périgord, Limousin, etc.), is the pendentive-borne spherical dome—most evidently adopted from Byzantine architecture, probably through Venetian builders, some of whom are said to have been settled at Limoges, or possibly through influences introduced by Crusaders on their return from the East. The chief of these domed Romanesque churches is Saint-Front at Périgueux, which in general plan resembles St Mark's at Venice and possesses also a great bell-tower—a reminiscence of, though very different from, the Venetian campanile. Another example is the cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Angoulême, which, as well as domes, has three bell-towers. Solignac also possesses domes.

Poitou shows churches with very richly decorated façades, a favourite ornament of which are high reliefs and statues, sometimes equestrian. The finest example is Notre-Dame la Grande at Poitiers.

Auvergne, the plateau region to the west of Provence, at first resisted Latin influences, but later (in the latter half of the eleventh century) developed a very vigorous Romanesque,

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apparently copied direct from Roman models or introduced by Roman-Lombard masters. The churches are mostly imposing buildings of grey granite, especially distinguished by the lofty octagonal tower of numerous storeys that rises above the crossing of the transept and by the numerous external chapels that radiate round the apse. Clermont is the centre of this important group of churches, and it possesses perhaps the finest specimen, namely Notre-Dame du Port. Toulouse imitated the stone masonry of this Auvergne school in brick. The four-aisled church of Saint-Sernin (built about 1090), with its tower of five arcaded storeys and its numerous apsidal and transept chapels, is a proof of what could be produced in the way of grandeur by the city which, as Hourticq says, 'is built of little bricks and paved with little stones.'

Normandy, like other parts of France north of the Loire, although possessing many splendid Gothic cathedrals and other buildings, in which are more or less conspicuous the remains of fine Romanesque originals, cannot compete with the southern provinces in regard to genuine Romanesque churches, with their beautiful portals and façades decorated with fine sculpture. The Northern builder, when he began to apply the principles learnt from Romanesque masters, produced vast edifices of a grand simplicity in plan, furnished usually with imposingly massive and lofty towers flanking the façade and surmounting the central dome; but he seems to have had little appreciation for the fascinating beauty in proportion and in ornamentation shown by Southern Romanesque.

The only city of Normandy which possesses any great and complete specimen of Norman-Romanesque is Caen. Here there are two exceedingly impressive churches, one of which, Saint-Etienne, I mentioned in connexion with the Norman churches of Sicily. It was built by William the Conqueror (his architect being probably Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester), and was finished soon after his death in 1087. But the audacity with which these Norman architects designed buildings ignored the difficulties and dangers of 'thrust,' and Saint-Etienne ('Abbaye aux Hommes') as well as La Sainte-Trinité ('Abbaye aux Dames'), completed a



198. 'L'ABBEYE AUX DAMES,' CAEN
Photo Giraudon



199. WORMS CATHEDRAL
Photo N.P.G

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little earlier, although meant to be roofed in with Romanesque vaulting, had to be covered temporarily with old-fashioned, flat timber ceilings, and it was not till considerably later that the introduction of the pointed arch allowed the very wide naves and aisles to be safely vaulted in stone. The Abbaye aux Dames presents an exterior wholly Romanesque, but the flanking towers of Saint-Etienne are topped with lofty Gothic spires.

The Rouen cathedral, whose central tower is now surmounted by the enormously high and aggressively modern iron-work steeple that dominates the whole city, has its fine Gothic façade flanked by the 'Tour du Beurre' and another fine tower the lower part of which is old Romanesque. At Le Mans still exists a very much rebuilt and Gothicized cathedral which was once perhaps the finest Romanesque church north of the Loire.¹ On the Mont-Saint-Michel the mass of buildings, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, supported by the rock and by artificial terraces, is surmounted by the Abbey Church, which, although mainly Gothic, contains fine Romanesque remains. There are important Romanesque ruins also at Jumièges.

(b) Germany

The Romanesque style was imported into Germany and France evidently about the same period and by similar means. The direct and close relations of Provence and Burgundy to the central parts of that Western Roman Empire which had been in a fashion revived by Charles the Great and his successors caused, as was natural, the Roman-Lombard architecture to be rapidly adopted in the south of France. In the central and northern regions it was, as we have seen, somewhat less rapidly but more vigorously assimilated. And here it sometimes developed very striking and beautiful new characteristics. This was the case also beyond the bounds of France—in England and in Germany.

In the case of Germany we must, however, note a very distinct difference between the south-west (Austrasia) and

¹ The Gothic choir is surrounded by double aisles; and thirteen chapels almost as large as ordinary churches radiate from it (Hourticq).

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the north-east (Saxonia, etc.). The Germanic provinces of the vast empire of Charles which lay near the Rhine—the great waterway by which Roman influences had ever found their way northward¹—were naturally much earlier civilized than the regions inhabited by the almost indomitable Saxons and other warlike Eastern tribes, who gave such trouble to the Carolingians and remained almost insensible to Southern art long after the accession of the famous Saxon Holy Roman Emperor, Otto I (962).

But even the Rhenish school of Romanesque architecture produced very little indeed until in the north of France and in England fine Gothic buildings had been commenced and some completed.² It produced a few vast cathedrals. In spite, however, of their bigness and massive strength they fail to be really impressive, for they lack not only the indescribable grace of the Roman-Lombard and the Southern Romanesque but also the splendid dignity of the Norman. A curious characteristic of some of these Rhenish cathedrals is that they have a choir and an apse and sometimes transepts (also with apses) at both ends, so that when a façade was attempted it had to be placed at the side of the building. Raised tribunes and external ornamental arcades seem to indicate basilican (Lombard) sources. There are usually four tall square or hexagonal bell-towers with pyramidal roofs, placed at the junctions of the choir and transepts, and sometimes also two more massive towers over the domed crossings of the nave with the two transepts. Another characteristic, and one that mars considerably the proportions and dignity of the interiors, is that

¹ Many cities on or near the Rhine and its tributaries, such as Basel, Worms, Mainz, Coblenz, Trier (Trèves), Cologne, and Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) are associated with memories of the ancient Romans, of Attila, of Charlemagne, etc. From about 850 a great strip of territory between the mouths of the Rhine and the Rhone, called Lotharingia (Lorraine), divided Germany and France.

² Thus, before Worms Cathedral was finished (c. 1180) the Gothic choir of Notre-Dame of Paris was begun, while at Bamberg, Limburg, and other places, and still more in Eastern Germany (e.g., at Hildesheim in Saxony), one finds many relics of Romanesque work (on which Gothic was later superimposed) dating from a period subsequent to that of splendid Gothic work at Chartres, Amiens, Reims, Canterbury, Chichester, Wells, and Salisbury, and in Westminster Abbey. The early attempts at Gothic in Germany, e.g., Marburg, Meissen, etc., are somewhat crude. Freiburg Cathedral, the Frauenkirche at Trier, and parts of Cologne Cathedral, early specimens of genuine German Gothic, date only from about 1250, and are mostly Gothic superimposed on Romanesque.

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massive square piers with clustered shafts sometimes support the transverse arches and the great intersecting vaults of the bays of the nave, while alternating with them are considerably slenderer and plainer piers. The two longitudinal arches that are thus formed under each side of each great bay of the nave correspond with the smaller bays of the aisles, which are (as also sometimes in Norman) double in number those of the nave.

The finest examples of Rhenish Romanesque, built between 1080 and 1180, are the cathedrals of Speyer (Spire), Mainz (Mayence), Worms, Trier (Trèves). At Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) we have the Minster, or 'Palatine Chapel,' the church built (about 800) by Charlemagne in connexion with his palace. It was copied from the octagonal church of S. Vitale in Ravenna, and is therefore rather Byzantine than Romanesque in ground-plan, but may be regarded as very early Italian Romanesque in its massive round-arch construction. At Laach, near Andernach, there is an ancient Romanesque church copied from that at Vézelay (*c.* 1100) already mentioned. In Cologne there is what was originally an ancient Roman-Lombard circular church, St Mary of the Capitol (*c.* 1050), and a later circular Romanesque church, that of the Holy Apostles. The Speyer cathedral, which, like the cathedral at Worms, is of imposing dimensions, contains the tombs of various Holy Roman Emperors and other celebrities. It has been very largely rebuilt, and gives one an impression of pretentiousness and fictitious grandeur, which is considerably deepened when one discovers that the great expanses of what seem to be resplendent apse and tribune mosaics, rivalling those of S. Vitale itself, are merely painted imitations.

The so-called Saxon Romanesque churches of Eastern Germany are of a ruder, heavier, and coarser type, evidently attempts by vigorous but inartistic builders to use the principles of Southern and Western Romanesque masters. The ancient but much restored churches of Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, Brunswick, etc., are specimens of this style. There are also numerous Gothic churches (Bamberg, St Stephen's at Vienna, etc.) which still possess remains of an original Romanesque edifice.

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(c) England

In later Anglo-Saxon buildings is distinctly perceptible the appli-ance of the main principles of Romanesque architecture, doubtless introduced by the Normans, who exercised considerable influence in England in the days of Edward the Confessor, and even earlier. These Romanesque principles, derived through Italian and French channels from a Roman origin, encouraged English¹ builders to make more and more audacious attempts. The ability to calculate and to counteract the various thrusts and strains caused by gravity in the case of the arch and vault gave them little by little a new feeling for vital structural form. In early days they merely attempted to construct an edifice so that it should hold together—should serve as an enclosed and covered structure and offer opportunities for a certain amount of decoration. The idea of a building as a structural unity—as an organic whole, so to speak—was wanting; and this want, due to the slow assimilation of Romanesque principles by Saxon builders, and doubtless also to uninspiring Saxon influence exercised on builders who came from Normandy, continued to be visible until, toward the end of the twelfth century, English Norman architecture began to feel the advent of the new ‘Pointed’ style, as trees feel the advent of spring.

However, the more scientific principles introduced by the Normans ere long put an end to the high and weak walls, narrow naves and aisles, and almost meanly small and scanty doors and windows that characterize genuine ‘box-like’ Saxon structures.

In Britain, no less probably than elsewhere in Western Christendom, the passing of the much-feared year 1000 had occasioned a great outburst of joy and of religious fervour, and when the Normans established themselves as the ruling race their zeal for the erection of vast churches doubtless found a ready response among their new subjects, so that very shortly after the Conquest the Norman originals of

¹ How far the principles of Roman architecture may have been known to early Saxon and to Celtic builders independently of Norman Romanesque influences is an interesting but difficult question.



200. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL—NORMAN TOWER

See p. 256

Photo Mansell



201. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL—NORMAN PORCH

See p. 256

Photo Mansell

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several of our great cathedrals were begun, and before the end of the century a dozen more, as well as many abbeys and castles, were either complete or were in course of completion.

The main characteristics of well-developed Anglo-Norman are these: (1) Massive masonry, adapted to resist the thrusts of vaults and arches by dead weight, without the aid of deep external buttresses, or of balance. (2) Semicircular or segmental arches, often undercut (recessed) into several subdivisions that are supported on shafts cut out of the piers; such recessed arches of nave, and still more of portals, frequently decorated by carvings (zigzag or chevron, frets, lozenges, cable, herring-bone, etc., but these carvings are not nearly so rich and artistic as those of Southern Romanesque, although at times they show notable beauty, and also attempt figures.¹) (3) Piers and columns often of different girth according to the weight to be supported. Capitals at first undecorated and almost Doric in form; later adorned with carvings of foliage, etc. (4) The east end of the building often quadrangular instead of forming the semicircular or octagonal apse usual in basilican and Romanesque churches. This feature is, as we shall see, retained in English Gothic churches. (5) Aisles with barrel or intersecting (groined) vaulting. Nave built with massive piers as if to support vaulting; but, as in the case of the grand Norman churches at Caen, the vaulting often had to wait for the pointed arch era (*e.g.*, Norwich) and wooden ceilings were used (*e.g.*, at Ely, where the still extant wooden ceiling is possibly Norman). Durham Cathedral was perhaps unique in being vaulted throughout. (6) Grand, square-topped, battlemented towers flanking the façade, and a still greater 'lantern tower' over the centre of the transept. Smaller towers at the extremities of the transept.

Of the following cathedrals and abbeys, first built in the Norman era, a few (*e.g.*, Norwich) have remained almost unaltered; others (*e.g.*, York) have retained hardly any evidences of their Norman originals; many (*e.g.*, Canterbury)

¹ Possibly Celtic work; for fine ancient Celtic carvings are found not only in Ireland but in England (*e.g.*, at Bewcastle, Cumberland). The Celtic genius for ornamental sculpture may possibly have been directly encouraged by Byzantine and other Eastern importations (even of a textile nature), such as seem certainly to be traceable in the carvings of Romanesque arches and portals.

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have been almost wholly reconstructed in later styles but retain a considerable amount of the Norman structure.

(1) An abbey built by the Confessor on the site of the present *Westminster Abbey*. Of this Saxon Norman church only very few remains have been discovered, but it is known to have had apses, vaulted aisles, two great western towers, and a central lantern tower.

(2) The rebuilding of *Canterbury Cathedral*, which had been first founded in, or before, the age of St Augustine (c. 600), was begun in 1070 by Lanfranc, abbot of the newly founded Saint-Etienne, Caen, whom the Conqueror selected for the See of Canterbury. As natural, the general lines of the English cathedral were similar to those of the splendid Abbaye aux Hommes, and had two western and a great central tower. Of Lanfranc's church and its surroundings there are few relics, and its reconstruction under Anselm by Prior Conrad (1130) was destroyed by fire, but William of Sens and his successors rebuilt it partly in the old style (c. 1175). Of their work part of the choir and various Norman porches, etc., remain.

(3) *St Alban's Abbey* (now Cathedral) was begun by a monk (a relation of Lanfranc's) of the Caen Saint-Etienne about 1075. It was constructed of brick obtained from Roman ruins in the vicinity, and was covered with white plaster and adorned inside with frescos after the Southern fashion. It had seven eastern apses.

(4) *St John's Chapel* (c. 1080) in the Tower of London; the most complete existent specimen of early English Norman work. The aisles have groined and the nave has barrel vaulting. The columns are very massive, and the whole gives an unpleasant impression of unwieldy brute strength, which is perhaps even aggravated by contrast with the almost Byzantine high-stilted form of the arches.

(5) Of the Norman original of *York Minster* (begun c. 1075) scarcely a trace remained after the rebuilding in Early English (the 'Five Sisters' dates from c. 1250) and further reconstruction in the fourteenth century. The fine central tower is in the 'Third Pointed' (Early Perpendicular) style.

(6) *Lincoln Cathedral* was begun likewise c. 1075. An earthquake so damaged it in 1185 that it was almost completely reconstructed in Pointed style.

(7) *Winchester Cathedral* (begun c. 1080) was on a large scale—some 530 feet long. The transepts (225 feet from end to end) are now the chief remains of the Norman original.

(8) *Ely Cathedral* (begun c. 1080) retains its original nave and transepts, of which the western is considered a very fine example of Norman work.

(9) *Durham Cathedral* (begun in 1093 by Bishop Carileph) is a very dignified and grand building. The Norman nave is majestic and finely proportioned and varied. The western towers are Norman to the clerestory, above which they rise with blind arcades and round and pointed windows. The great central tower, once Norman, is in Late Pointed Gothic. Besides having the rare distinction of possessing Norman vaulting throughout, it contains what is perhaps the earliest known intersecting vaulting supported by free ribs—a device that seems to have led to the momentous adoption of the pointed arch.



202. DURHAM CATHEDRAL
Photo F. Frith & Co., Ltd.



203. NORWICH CATHEDRAL
Photo Mansell

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(10) *Norwich Cathedral* (begun c. 1096) is probably the most perfectly preserved specimen of a great English Norman cathedral. The east end is apsidal, originally with three apses. The long Norman nave of fourteen bays is surmounted by Gothic vaulting supported on long pilasters.

(11) Among other fine English cathedrals, abbeys, and churches begun or rebuilt in the Norman era may be mentioned *Old St Paul's* (1083, burnt in 1666), *Rochester* (1083; built by Bishop Gundulph, who also founded Rochester Castle and the White Tower of the Tower of London), *Worcester* (1084), *Lichfield* (which retains nothing of the Norman original), *Gloucester* (1089), *Peterborough* (1117 onward), *Hereford* (c. 1120 onward), *Chichester* (c. 1100—with Norman nave and much Transition Norman Pointed), *Romsey Abbey* (c. 1100), *Tewkesbury Abbey*, *Waltham Abbey*, *Fountains Abbey* (the cloisters are Early Pointed and the tower Perpendicular), and, lastly, the very noble Norman *Abbey of Christchurch* on the sea-coast of Hampshire.

The Norman castles in Britain, of which the only complete specimen extant is the Tower of London, were, like those in Normandy, constructed on a plan similar to that of many an ancient Babylonian or Greek palace—a space enclosed by massive battlements forming the central court for a number of rooms (sometimes only one large room and a number of windowless ‘hovels’). Within the walls was the ‘keep’—a kind of refuge, four or five storeys high, furnished with subterranean dungeons; outside the walls was the moat.

CHAPTER IV

ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

WE have now to consider the sculpture and painting of the six centuries (*c.* 600–1200) during which Romanesque architecture existed, first in a primitive stage as Roman-Lombard and then in various forms of development in Italy and Sicily, in France, England, and Germany.

(a) Italian Romanesque Sculpture and Painting (*c.* 600–1200)

For more than a thousand years—from the days of the Antonines until those of Niccolò Pisano (*c.* 1260)—sculpture steadily degenerated, and this era of Early Romanesque is for Italy a Dark Age in regard to both sculpture and painting, if we do not class mosaics under painting.¹ It is true that in churches erected during this era are to be found carvings of exquisite design and beautiful material, such as those on capitals, screens, ciboria,² and sarcophagi; but most of these capitals are either Byzantine work, such as we see at Ravenna, or they are ancient work taken from Roman temples or close imitations of such work—perhaps designed by ‘Comacine masters’ or by sculptors of the Roman *scholae* which during the Dark Age kept up the traditions of classic art. Many of the sarcophagi, moreover, found in basilicas and in churches of this era and in *campi santi* are ancient Roman

¹ For mosaics down to the time of Giotto see Part IV, Chapter IV, and *Medieval Italy*, pp. 446 *sq.*, 524 *sq.* There was a vast output of Byzantine painting and miniature, and this affected strongly later Romanesque in France (and to some extent in England, *e.g.*, at St Alban’s), but although Romanesque churches (unlike Gothic) afforded great expanses for such decoration, frescos are rare. Queen Theodelinda (*c.* 605) decorated Theoderic’s palace at Monza, it is said, with ‘frescos after the Byzantine style’; but all has disappeared.

² The ciborium, found also in basilicas, is a quadrangular or polygonal screened erection like a baldacchino, supported on four or more pillars.

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work, and even those that date from Romanesque times often preserve an old traditional classic style and adapt mythology to Christian motives. However, in the carvings of ciboria (*e.g.*, at Cividale, Toscanella, and Ravenna), and of screens, friezes, windows, doors, etc., one finds work, sometimes of graceful design, showing a combination of classic and Byzantine with strong Northern influences.

In original (Italian) Romanesque this Northern (Lombard) influence, which had a tendency to grotesqueness, is of course far more noticeable than in the later Romanesque of France and England, which, as also that of Germany, was largely affected by the classicism prevalent in Provence and Burgundy, and was also to some extent favourably modified, both in architecture and in architectural decoration, by Byzantine art. Thus in Italy, especially in Lombardy, the grotesque element is a Romanesque characteristic. The Lombards, though originally evidently a very wild and savage race, proved far more receptive of Southern refinement than the Goths. But their Northern love for animal and human forms, often of a grotesque and monstrous character, influenced largely the architectural sculpture of the Italian artists that they employed. Many old Romanesque churches in Northern Italy show capitals in which such grotesque figures are combined (sometimes very successfully) with foliage of more or less classical character; and a very common and by no means artistic device of Italian Romanesque sculptors is to let columns (of portals, pulpits, etc.) rest on the backs of animals, often diminutive lions, or on crouching, and sometimes writhing, human figures.¹

But besides this grotesque element we find, even in very early Lombard work, much that is tenderly beautiful, displaying a real love for animals and plants, and much that shows taste and skill in geometric and other decorative

¹ The only sculptured animals that support great weights without causing us discomfort are tortoises—sometimes found under obelisks, basins of fountains, etc. Dante (*Purg.* x) notes the crouching human figure 'used as a corbel to sustain a roof'—a device even less artistic than the Greek Caryatid and Atlas—'making by its unreal anguish real anguish arise in him who sees it.' Dante lived in the Gothic era; but two centuries earlier (*c.* 1120) we find St Bernard of Clairvaux lamenting the monstrosities of sculpture in Romanesque churches—'apes and lions and centaurs and serpents with horses' heads, and three bodies with one head,' and so on.

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carving. Of this there are rare but certain proofs, *e.g.*, in the portals of S. Pietro at Pavia and the two churches at Toscanella, and in ancient window decoration of S. Abbondio, near Como (see drawings, pp. 234, 235), while in the lunette over the portal of Queen Theodelinda's cathedral at Monza (see illustration) we have fairly successful figure-carving of a degraded Roman type.

In connexion with this early Lombard carving and



LUNETTE ABOVE THE PORTAL OF MONZA CATHEDRAL

Theodelinda may be mentioned again that queen's celebrated Treasury at Monza, which contains some very interesting relics of early Lombard art, *e.g.*, the silver-gilt 'Hen and Chickens' (Fig. 182), crosses, goblets, etc., and the famous Iron Crown, with which Lombard kings and, afterward, Holy Roman Emperors were crowned.¹

Lastly, of the few extant illuminated manuscripts (psalters, evangelaries, and Bibles of Carolingian monarchs, etc.) and ivory tablets produced by this Early Romanesque art scarcely any are of Italian origin.

¹ See Figs. 185, 186. The golden, jewelled exterior dates perhaps from *c.* 1100. Some of these crosses and goblets, gifts of Gregory the Great, are figured in the above-mentioned lunette. The so-called Crown of Charlemagne (given with the Iron Crown) may possibly also be work of this era. For the history of these crowns see *Medieval Italy*, p. xviii.

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In Italian Romanesque churches, even after the great revival about A.D. 1000, there is scarce a trace of the continuance of that fresco-painting (Byzantine and Roman in style) of which we noted the presence in the basilica period (*e.g.*, in S. Maria Antiqua and S. Clemente at Rome). The mosaic decorations in late basilicas and in Romanesque and Norman Sicilian churches are, as we have seen, exceedingly impressive, but painting seems scarcely to have existed, except in the form of the ubiquitous Byzantine ikon.

Also the sculptures, used to adorn the portals of churches and pulpits and fonts, etc., had become and remained for about two centuries (which are justly termed a Dark Age) of a very degraded type,¹ except perhaps in the south of Italy, which was partly still under Byzantine supremacy and very strongly influenced by Byzantine artists.² If archives are to be believed, there was in those parts an almost infinite amount of Byzantine work, especially sacred pictures (ikons) and sculptured bronze doors; and some of these doors, of very fine workmanship, still exist, as we have seen, at Amalfi, Salerno, and other places, and date from about 1050 or 1100. But there are others, evidently the work of Italians trained by Byzantines, of somewhat later date (*e.g.*, at Trani and Ravello and Benevento). Moreover, at Salerno we have a famous altar-cover (*paliotto*) with ivory reliefs representing Biblical scenes, and it seems more than possible that this is purely Italian (Romanesque) work of the twelfth century—a possibility that opens out most interesting questions, viz., whether the great Tuscan revival of sculpture which is attributed mainly to Niccolò of Pisa (*c.* 1260) was a case of spontaneous generation, or traceable to Niccolò's Tuscan and Lombard predecessors, or whether it was not due to the influence of a school of sculpture in the south of Italy, and whether Niccolò, or his father, did not come from Apulia. The discussion of these questions, however, must be deferred for the present.

¹ Some of the better of these sculptures, as also Roman 'Cosmati work,' will be mentioned when we come to Niccolò Pisano and the Revival.

² To Monte Cassino, the great Benedictine monastery and a centre of culture, many Byzantine artists were attracted even before the great exodus of artists from Constantinople after the sack of that city by the Latins in 1204.

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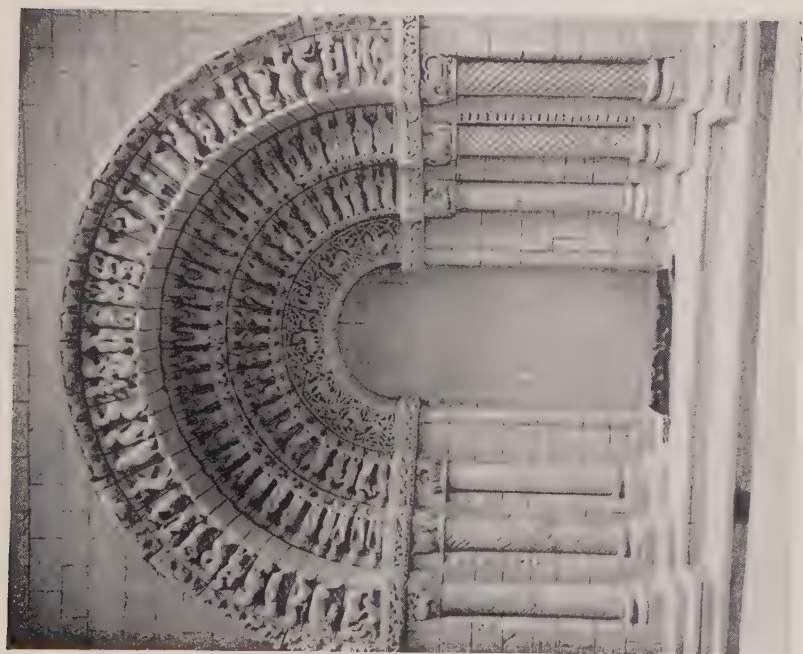
(b) Northern Romanesque Sculpture and Pictorial Arts (c. 1000-1200)

Though the relics of French decorative sculpture used in connexion with Romanesque architecture are more abundant than, and far superior to, those of Italy, the relics of French paintings of this era are very rare and (however interesting otherwise) are artistically of little value. The types of Northern Romanesque paintings are distinctly Byzantine, doubtless introduced by means of ikons and illuminated manuscripts brought by Eastern and Italian missionaries.¹ After having been suppressed for a time by Carolingian civilization these Byzantine types and the Byzantine system of 'cycles' seem to have been zealously readopted during the church-building activity that followed the year 1000, when walls and roofs were covered with 'enlarged miniatures.'

By far the most complete relic of such painting are the frescos (of about 1100) that decorate the interior of the church of Saint-Savin, near Poitiers. In the narthex are pictured the Last Judgment and scenes from the Apocalypse; on the barrel vault of the nave is the world's history from the Creation till the time of Moses; in the choir are scenes from the New Testament. The colouring is dull and flat (reds, yellows, and greens prevailing) and there is no modelling, says M. Hourticq, 'except a few white hatchings and a few dark blotches'; but, in spite of this and the distinctly Byzantine types, there is perceptible here and there a vigorous naturalism, due evidently to Northern influences, which betokens the possibility of something in the way of a revival. This revival, however, seems to have been nipped in the bud by the advent of Gothic, which, while it was very favourable to certain kinds of sculpture and to decoration by stained glass—an art soon to become so important in France and England—diminished considerably the opportunities of fresco and mosaic.

Other frescos, or remnants of frescos, of this era are an *Ascension* in the little ancient Baptistery (or 'Temple')

¹ We should moreover not forget the influences exercised by the numberless Crusaders who returned from Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.



204. SAINT-PIERRE, AULNAY
Porch of north transept
Photo Giraudon



205. ABBEY OF SAINT-DENIS
Romanesque central porch of façade. Late eleventh century
X Photo.



206. SAINT-TROPHIME, ARLES

Part of the porch

Photo Giraudon

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of Saint-Jean at Poitiers; a 'cycle' of Biblical subjects in the church of St George on Reichenau, an island of the Lake of Constance; faded frescos in the chapel of St George at Cologne; a ceiling in Brauweiler Monastery, near Cologne, with saints representative of Faith; badly restored frescos in Brunswick Cathedral depicting the 'scheme of Redemption' as seen in the lives of Biblical saints; and the *Root of Jesse* (ancestry of the Virgin from Adam) on the wooden ceiling of St Michael's church at Hildesheim.¹

In Normandy and in England scarce a trace remains of pre-Gothic mural painting, although to judge from the very remarkable proficiency of early Celtic and English miniature-painters it is likely that much fresco existed in Britain even before the Conquest, and, as Sir Walter Armstrong tells us in his *Art in Great Britain and Ireland*, the great Norman cathedrals, such as Winchester, Durham, St Alban's, London, and Canterbury, were decorated with paintings before any attempt was made to adorn them with sculptured figures. Of such paintings possible vestiges remain in the nave of St Alban's and in the *Galilee* of Durham Cathedral.

In connexion with the painting of the Norman period may be mentioned a most interesting, if not highly artistic, pictorial work, popularly but wrongly attributed to Queen Matilda, namely the famous Bayeux Tapestry, in which the invasion of England by the Conqueror is pictured.² It dates from the twelfth century.

The earliest carvings of Northern Romanesque architecture, as we have seen is the case with Roman-Lombard and early Norman, show usually only ornamental patterns—geometric designs, foliage, etc. The introduction of figures seems to have come considerably later here than in Italy, where the Lombard *penchant* for grotesque animal forms had soon prevailed over traditional classical taste. North

¹ Among vanished mural paintings of the Romanesque era may be noted those in the Basilica of Tours that depicted the life of St Martin, and those that illustrated the *gestes* of Charlemagne in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle.

² It is not 'tapestry' but embroidery. Like Homeric women, Anglo-Saxon ladies and queens were renowned for such work. Even Helena, the (perhaps British) mother of Constantine the Great, is credited with an extant bit of embroidered work—a figure of the Virgin—preserved in an English-Gothic church at Vercelli in Italy.

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and west of the Alps, except in Britain, Carolingian civilization had superseded all else and had introduced an exotic ecclesiastical art, mainly by means of missionaries, most of whom were influenced by Italian (Benedictine) or by Byzantine traditions,¹ and many of whom brought with them ikons, miniatures, and designs; and such Byzantine designs as were suitable for stone-carving contained, according to Oriental usage, very little in the way of figures; indeed, many of the designs of the sculpture of early Northern Romanesque and Norman portals, etc., are said to be traceable to the patterns of Oriental textiles.

The first figure sculpture of any real importance in Northern Romanesque seems to date from about 1050, and it is not surprising that some of the earliest examples are to be found in Provence, where classic Roman influences lingered so long.² A fine specimen of this revived Roman style adorns the well-known and beautiful porch of Saint-Trophime at Arles.³

But this Provençal style ere long gave way to the influences exercised by large importations of Eastern ikons and illuminated manuscripts. In Western Christendom, where the Church allowed a free use of carved figures, architectural sculptures became (says M. Hourticq) 'merely transpositions into low relief of the images of Byzantine miniature,' and these early Romanesque reliefs were (like ancient Egyptian and Greek sculpture) sometimes covered with vivid colours. This imitation in stone of painted scenes (such as those of the Last Judgment, the Crucifixion, martyrdoms, etc., found in miniature-work) made very crowded with figures the sculptured reliefs that were now often inserted over the portals and in other parts of Romanesque churches, and as the sculptor felt it necessary to fill up all available space he lengthened, shortened,

¹ The enthusiasm of Charlemagne himself for Byzantine art is proved by his erecting at Aix-la-Chapelle his famous imitation of Ravenna's S. Vitale.

² For pre-Norman and Celtic figure reliefs in Britain of earlier date see p. 266.

³ With the older Roman we have in Saint-Trophime also the Byzantine element, *e.g.*, the reliefs of the three Marys (much venerated, together with Lazarus and Trophimus, in Provence, where they, or their relics, are fabled to have arrived). The figures, advancing to visit Christ's tomb, all dressed in similar stiffly folded straight robes and holding similar vessels of spices in their hands, remind one forcibly of Ravenna Byzantine mosaics.

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expanded, compressed, and distorted these figures *ad libitum*. Scenes of the Last Judgment display sometimes swarms of writhing and gesticulating figures with legs and arms inextricably intertwined and numberless demons and angels performing wondrous acrobatic feats. Examples of such church-portal tympana are to be seen in France at Beaulieu, Vézelay, Moissac, Conques, Autun, and elsewhere.¹

This electrification of Byzantine rigidity and monotony into violent movement and diversity produces a somewhat grotesque effect, such as we have noticed in the art of early (Lombard) Romanesque, and as we shall notice later in Gothic sculpture and that of the early Tuscan school; ² but it was a sign of life, and little by little a more artistic spirit and more skilful execution eliminated the ridiculous and introduced the beautiful and even the sublime. Some of the earlier figures of Christ in these Judgment scenes are not without dignity, and when we arrive at the relics (or possibly copies of relics) of Romanesque work in Chartres Cathedral (rebuilt in Gothic after the fire of 1194) we find sculptures of a nobler character than most of the products of earlier Gothic sculptors. Thus, a Christ seated amid the Evangelistic animals (Fig. 195) has almost something of Pheidias dignity, and in a Last Judgment scene the composition, although Byzantine in its symmetry, shows evident signs of a higher law, and the figures, although full of vigour, show no trace of contortion and grimace.

Northern Romanesque capitals are of diverse shapes, and their carvings show various influences. One common type is that of a plain cube rounded off below. Sometimes they are almost Roman Doric or Etruscan in form; sometimes inverted-pyramidal and so richly adorned with deeply cut foliage, or basket-work, or animal forms, as to remind one of the capitals of Italian basilicas of Byzantine or of Roman-Lombard work. In some cases (*e.g.*, in the cloisters of

¹ One should not forget that these and other characteristics in sculpture depend a good deal on the stone of a country. In Auvergne, where the stone used was a hard granite, such multiplication and vivacity of figures presented much more difficulty than in regions like Poitou, where there was soft limestone. Still, Auvergne shows some lively examples.

² See pp. 259, 306, and 326. In these early Romanesque sculptures we find also a stereotyped *smile*, similar to that which was one of the first signs of vitality in very early Greek statues.

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Saint-Trophime and of Moissac), the one abacus is supported by two slight columns, almost as in S. Costanza at Rome.¹

In Britain carvings were used to decorate columns, portals, etc., but the Normans seem to have made scarcely any attempt to adorn their great cathedrals with free sculpture. A few reliefs, such as some on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, may date from the English Norman period, but are probably the work of Continental artists (Italian Benedictine missionaries ?), as are evidently certain remarkable bas-reliefs in Chichester Cathedral. These Chichester reliefs have been attributed to a probably fabulous school of Saxon sculptors that is sometimes stated to have flourished in the south of England before the Norman Conquest. But they show in their composition and types undeniable affinity to Southern (Italian and Sicilian) schools of sculpture and mosaic. On the other hand there was in our islands, as I have noticed elsewhere, a genuine and vigorous Celtic school of carvers, to the existence of which in pre-Norman times many finely decorated stone crosses and a certain amount of figure sculpture testify.

The art of staining glass, or rather of using stained glass windows as pictorial decoration, so common in Gothic architecture, may have existed as early as the days of Charlemagne; but very little has survived from the Romanesque era. The oldest specimens are probably to be seen in the cathedral of Saint-Denis, near Paris, and among the Romanesque survivals of Chartres Cathedral some really beautiful medallions exist. Romanesque stained glass windows consisted of iron-framed compartments within which a picture (some Biblical scene) was formed—a sort of transparent mosaic—by a number of pieces of glass, each of a different colour and cut into a suitable shape, held together by lead traceries. York Minster possibly possesses some genuine Romanesque glass; but much of the earlier Gothic glass (thirteenth century) was evidently imitated from now vanished Romanesque originals.²

¹ See Fig. 159. The same device is found in the so-called 'Cosmati' architecture of the Lateran cloister, *c.* 1240, and that of S. Paolo fuori, and that of the Sicilian Norman cathedral of Monreale (*c.* 1200).

² In the Dom of Augsburg there is some unattractive glass that is stated, probably falsely, to be of the eleventh century.

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To give any full account of the miniatures¹ adorning the countless psalters and evangelaries and other religious books disseminated through Christendom during this era would require far more space than is at my disposal. The influence of these illuminations, pictorial and decorative, on Romanesque mural painting and sculpture has been frequently mentioned. Many of them were of Byzantine origin, while many others were the work of the Benedictine monks in that famous monastery of Monte Cassino, in South Italy, which was founded by Benedict in the year 529 and for at least a thousand years, in spite of siege and devastation by Lombards and Saracens, remained an important centre of art and learning. At Monte Cassino found refuge many Byzantine artists; but the style of Benedictine miniature, though it often shows Eastern influences, was inspired by that of Roman and Sicilian mosaics, and this style, so much nobler than that of Byzantine painting and mosaic, frequently makes itself evident in the best work of Northern Romanesque art.

Fine specimens of Romanesque miniature art are to be seen at Vienna (*e.g.*, the Evangelary of Charlemagne) and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (psalters, Bibles, etc., of various Emperors) as well as at Rome, St Gallen, and other places. One of the finest extant illuminated MSS. of this period was the *Hortus Deliciarum*, a collection of extracts from the Fathers and other religious writers, adorned with miniatures of very considerable beauty and dignity. It was the work of some Alsatian artist, and was in the Strasbourg Library that was burnt down at the siege of that city by the Germans in 1870. Countless other illuminated books have doubtless perished during wars—the Peasants' War and the Thirty Years War and other such horrors—as well as by such incredible negligence and vandalism as that which scandalized Boccaccio on his visit to Monte Cassino.²

¹ So called from the Latin word for red lead, *minium*.

² See *Medieval Italy*, p. 192. The former existence of much miniature and fresco work is proved by old records. The poets too mention contemporary painting. Wolfram von Eschenbach uses the expression 'no painter of Cöln or of Maestricht could have . . .', and in the *Nibelungenlied* (written in its present form about 1200) Siegfried, when he first meets Kriemhild, is described as so fair and knightly 'as if painted on parchment by the skill of good masters.'

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In the Netherlands miniature was evidently less practised, but there are finely illuminated MSS. at The Hague (says Crowe) in which the Romanesque decorations are of extraordinary beauty. It is, however, an interesting fact that most Flemish work of this epoch is of a much more decidedly Byzantine character than contemporary German work. This is doubtless explainable by the fact that from 1204 to 1260 several Counts of Flanders (as well as English Courtenays) were Emperors at Constantinople. But for us perhaps the most interesting facts in this connexion are that long before the English Romanesque period, indeed nearly as early as the days of Gregory the Great (c. 600) and the first Roman-Lombard architecture, the illumination of books, as well as the art of the metal-worker, was practised with surprising skill by Irish monks, and that even soon after the age of St Patrick (c. 430) Celtic work in metal and illumination seems to have found its way to the Continent.¹

The earliest extant specimen of such work is perhaps the *Book of Durrow* (Trinity College, Dublin), but more famous is the *Book of Kells* (of c. 680). These ancient Celtic illuminated books contain most wondrously intricate and delicate geometric designs in which rarely introduced motives taken from plants and animals and the human figure are subjected almost entirely to purely ornamental purposes. This avoidance of the natural living form is a characteristic of Celtic art which has made impossible the attainment of any high level in the realm of true pictorial art. That there must be, therefore, an essential difference between these Irish book-decorations and the works of Italian and Byzantine *miniatori* and French, German, and Flemish illuminators is evident. But Celtic book-ornamentation proved a very vigorous growth and flourished until the fifteenth century. (For Celtic figure-carving see Fig. 191.)

In connexion with the pictorial art of the Romanesque period may be mentioned some fragments of tapestry preserved in the ancient Romanesque abbey church of Quedlinburg, in Germany. This tapestry (dating from about 1200, considerably later than the Bayeux Tapestry) was worked by

¹ The library at St Gallen (Switzerland) possesses some remarkable Irish illuminated books.

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the abbess Agnes and her nuns. It contains allegorical figures, the god Mercury, etc. Some of the original drawings (says Crowe) show great beauty and even grandeur. Also in the still more ancient cathedral of Halberstadt there are tapestries of about the same epoch, but Byzantine in style and artistically of no great value.

* * * * *

Arab architecture suggests itself here in connexion with Byzantine and Romanesque. I shall therefore insert a chapter on this subject before passing on to the consideration of Gothic architecture.

CHAPTER V

ARAB ART

MORE than the art of Egypt, of Babylonia, of Assyria, or of Persia, Arab architecture has had a direct influence on that of Europe. Nor did it only exercise influence. Arab architects erected buildings in Spain which may be regarded as some of the most precious of our European art-treasures.

For something like eight centuries Arab architecture preserved its main characteristics, and the countries in which at different eras it prevailed extended from the Atlantic to the Ganges.

Firstly, then, a few words about this great Arab people. After Mohammed's death, in 632, Arab and other Moslim invaders rapidly conquered Egypt and Palestine and overran the whole maritime region of North Africa, until, about 710, they passed over from Mauretania to Spain, where these so-called 'Moors' established themselves firmly (until eradicated by Ferdinand and Isabella nearly eight centuries later), and would have probably subdued all Western Christendom had not Charles Martel smitten them at Tours in 732. Soon Saracen¹ fleets sweep the seas and infest the Mediterranean coasts, and by 830 Sicily is conquered and Palermo captured; and it is not till 1087 that they are here overcome by the Normans. Meanwhile, instead of Cairo caliphs choose Damascus and then Bagdad as their capital, and by the ninth century, under Harûn-al-Raschid, the Eastern Arabian Empire has attained its greatest power. Then come the Turks, who by about 870 subdue Persia and Egypt, and during the next two hundred years occupy Asia Minor and Syria, and constitute themselves the dominant Moslim power, incorporating the Arabian

¹ 'Saracen' was the name given to the Mohammedans of the East. It may be the Arabic 'Sharki-n'—*i.e.*, 'Orientals'—or may mean 'pirates.'

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Empire in their own,¹ and in spite of all the Crusades (1096-1272) gradually extending this empire until in 1453 they capture Constantinople, and by 1683 are at the gates of Vienna.

Toward the East the Moslim Empire likewise extended itself. Even in the days of Harûn-al-Raschid, the great caliph of Bagdad, Arabs had invaded India, and about 1025 the Turkish Arabs established themselves in the north, took Delhi a century or so later, and gradually extended Mohammedan rule and religion and Arab-Indian architecture over a great part of the peninsula. In spite of the Mongol (Mogul) invasion and temporary domination, the influences, religious, political, and artistic, of the Mohammedan supremacy (especially the influences of Arab genius) were not deeply affected, and some of the grandest Arab-Indian buildings were erected after the coming (c. 1400) of Timur.²

Secondly, let us consider some of the specific characteristics of this Arab architecture, which of course developed striking varieties in various regions of the immense realm over which it spread during the lapse of centuries.

(a) Ancient classical and Byzantine **columns and capitals** were at first used, and when this supply failed substitutes were found in rather bulky and clumsy cylindrical or polygonal supports, or in grouped slender shafts surmounted by a single cube-shaped capital. In some cases (*e.g.*, in the Alcazar) the Byzantine dossieret is found.

(b) Although classical remains were freely plundered the architrave was not adopted but the **arch**, and this took many forms. The semicircular arch is seldom found; the high-stilted round arch, common in Byzantine and in Romanesque, is preferred—*e.g.*, in the Court of Lions (Fig. 210). Also the 'horseshoe' arch is a well-known characteristic of Arab architecture. Although generally round at the top, it sometimes (like the Romanesque arch in Venice) develops a slight recurve, forming a point, or is frankly 'Pointed' in the Gothic sense—*i.e.*, consists of two distinct arcs.

¹ The Semitic Arabs (to whom science and literature owe much) continued to be for centuries the artistic and intellectual element in the new empire, of which the (Turanian, or Tatar) Turks were the chief military element.

² Timur (Tamerlane) was not really a Mongol (Tatar), but a Turk and a Mohammedan. The Mogul ascendancy was established more than a century after Timur's invasion, by Babur. It was about a century before Timur (*viz.*, c. 1280) that Marco Polo was in India.

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The genuine pointed arch (or broken arc) is often said to have found its way to Europe from Persia, where it had been used in the architecture of the Sassanid kings (A.D. 226-641) and had been copied by the Arabs. This western migration is said to have happened on the return of the Crusaders ; but long before the Crusades Saracen fleets had swept the Mediterranean, and what may be the Persian pointed arch is to be seen in Sicily, not only in an Arab domed pavilion called La Cuba, but in churches built (c. 1130-90) by the Norman kings. A variety of Arab pointed arch—although hardly an arch !—consists of the two sides of an equilateral triangle, forming an angle of 60°. This occurs in the Alhambra.

The Arabs used also various ‘fancy’ arches, some of them profusely lobed. A very graceful pointed arch of Arab type, formed of recurved arcs, may be seen at Venice. In the great mosque of Cordova (Spain), and elsewhere, is found an elaborate and rather awkward composite system of heavy-lobed, superimposed and interwoven arches.

(c) **Cupolas and domes** of diverse form are used—hemispherical, flattened, bulbous, oval, conical. Some are of immense size and are supported on shafts, or on pendentives—a device doubtless borrowed, as were the domes themselves, from the Byzantines ; for it seems to me even more incredible that we should have to thank ancient Hindu builders for some of the grandest features of Arab-Indian architecture than that the Arabs, as some would have us believe, derived (during the Bagdad era ?) the best part of all their science and culture—their mathematics, their astronomy, their medicine, their philosophy—from India.

(d) The **decoration** of Arab architecture was not attained by figure sculpture or fresco, but by polychrome variety in the use of encrusted marble, or enamelled tile, or stucco, or inlaid wood, and by means of what is called honeycomb and stalactite ornamentation, in which both colour and glittering vitreous substances were employed. The inner surfaces of walls and other parts of a building are often richly decorated with geometrical designs. Of these there are countless varieties, in some of which are introduced flower and foliage motives (recognizable at times as derived from Byzantine,



207. MOSQUE OF OMAR, JERUSALEM—EXTERIOR
Photo Brogi



208. MOSQUE OF OMAR, JERUSALEM—INTERIOR
Photo Donitis



209. MOSQUE OF CORDOYA
Photo Andersen

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Greek, and other sources), and also Arabic script.¹ One characteristic type of design, composed of intertwining lines, is known as 'arabesque.'

(e) **Minarets**—the nature and use of which need scarcely be explained—are found in connexion with all mosques except the most ancient.²

* * * * *

The following are the chief extant specimens of Arab architecture.

In Egypt and the nearer East exist, some of them probably almost in their original form, the earliest Arab buildings. Of what was built by the Arabs before the coming of Mohammed and in the years immediately following the Hegira (622) there are remains in the Yemen, *e.g.*, near Sana. The great mosque at Medina, dating perhaps from about A.D. 700, was an early original of the almost universal type, viz., a rectangular court, with a fountain in its midst, surrounded by porticos. At the further end is the 'house of prayer,' a thickly colonnaded roofed space like the hypostyle of Egyptian temples. On the farther side is the *mihrab*, or sanctuary, often a mere niche in the wall containing a copy of the Koran and indicating for the worshippers the direction of Mecca.

At Mecca the Kaaba, in spite of total restoration in 1625, seems to preserve the same type; but the sanctuary is in the centre of the great court.

Perhaps the earliest of all extant mosques is that of Amru (partially ruined), at ancient Cairo (Fostat). It was built in 642, ten years after Mohammed's death. It has neither dome nor minaret. In Cairo are also several fine mosques of later date, *e.g.*, those of Tulûn (885), Sultan Hasan (*c.* 1360), and the well-known Gâit Bey, which is comparatively late (1470), but a fine, if somewhat heavy, example of genuine Arab architecture. In Jerusalem the

¹ Especially the so-called Koufic script, of Syrian derivation. (Koufa is south of Bagdad.) In Moslim art figures were forbidden. Perhaps the only exception in Arab art is a curious painting on leather in the Hall of Judgment of the Alhambra, where kings of Granada, tournaments, etc., are depicted.

² Minarets (*lieux de lumière*, according to Peyre) are of different forms. In Cairo they seem copied from the Egyptian lighthouse (Pharos) and vary their shape at each storey. The Turkish minaret is usually cylindrical, the Arab-Spanish is square, the Arab-Persian conical.

ARAB ART

mosque called El Aksa, rebuilt about 1340, was originally Arab (c. 700), but the celebrated Mosque of Omar, or Dome of the Rock, which was probably one of the first great Christian churches, is an octagonal concentric Byzantine building, the dome of which was rebuilt in 1022, not long before the advent of the Turks.

In Asia Minor (at Conia, Nicaea, Broussa, and other places) there are great Turkish Arab mosques of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which, naturally, there are many Byzantine features; and in Constantinople, among many others, is the splendid mosque of Mohammed II, built some ten years after the capture of the city by that sultan in 1453. Moreover, numerous old Christian Byzantine churches, including the vast and magnificent S. Sophia, were appropriated and have served as Moslim mosques until our days.

In Persia the Arabs were influenced by old Sassanid buildings, such as the interesting relics of the palace of Ctesiphon. In various extant ruins of mosques and mausoleums some of the main characteristics of Arab architecture, such as pointed Arab arches and Arab decoration, are combined with Sassanid, and perhaps with Indian, features, such as the conical shape and the groovings of cupolas and minarets.

Of original Arab buildings in Sicily there are very few remains, although at one time Palermo had, it is said, three hundred mosques. Besides two buildings, the Cuba and the Zisa, certain Oriental features in the Norman churches are the only striking relics of Arab influence.¹

At an early epoch, namely in 710—a century before the great Bagdad Caliphate—the Arabs found their way, as we have seen, to Mauretania and crossed over to Spain; and here they were a dominant power for nearly eight centuries, until the year 1492—the year in which Columbus first sighted America—when their last fortress, the Alhambra at Granada, was taken by Ferdinand the Catholic.

In Spain the principal Moorish buildings are the following :

(1) The *Mosque of Cordova*, first founded about 790, consists of a great hypostyle (about 130 by 125 yards) with a forest of columns, mostly ancient

¹ In some Lombard-Romanesque churches of Southern Italy (e.g., the Collemaggio at Aquila) there are distinctly perceptible not only Norman but Arab features. In Venice too Saracenic influence is traceable.



210. THE COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA
Photo Anderson



211. TOMB OF HUMAYUN AT DELHI

From *Aryan Rule in India*, by E. B. Havell, by permission of the author



212. TOMB OF MOHAMMED KHAN AT BIJAPUR

From *Aryan Rule in India*, by E. B. Havell, by permission of the author

ARAB ARCHITECTURE

and originally numbering 1420, supporting lofty superstructures of arches above arches. The minaret was demolished in 1593; most of the decorative work has disappeared, as well as the four thousand lamps which illuminated the mosque every night. The centre of the hypostyle was disfigured by a flamboyant Gothic erection when, in the days of the Emperor Charles V, the mosque was 'purged' for Christian use.

(2) The *Alcazar* (Palace) at Seville, built in the twelfth century and captured by Ferdinand III of Aragon in 1248, since which time the Seville mosque (c. 1170) has been the cathedral. Its minaret, now the campanile, is known as La Giralda.

(3) Toledo, picturesquely situated at a great height above the Tagus, contains numerous remains of ancient Arab buildings, but nothing of importance save one church, formerly an eleventh-century mosque.

(4) Granada possesses the best known of Arab-Spanish, or rather Moorish, buildings.¹ The *Alhambra* ('The Red') was begun about 1230, but not finished until 1330. The architecture of the interior is in parts somewhat fantastic and overladen with ornamentation, but the general effect is very attractive. The Court of Lions, with its porticos of high-stilted arches and more than sixty couples of slim white marble pillars with gilded capitals, and its alabaster fountain-basin surrounded by twelve little black marble lions, is perhaps the most satisfactory part of the Alhambra, on account of its perfect taste.

* * * * *

The invasions of India by Arabs and the establishment of Moslim domination in that quarter of the world (c. 1150) have been already noted. As far as Arab-Indian buildings form an integral part of that Arab architecture which directly influenced European art and added to its treasures, such buildings claim here our attention in contradistinction to the huge and often monstrous products of that Hindu (Brahman and Buddhist) architecture which will be considered later from another point of view. It is true that in some Arab-Indian monuments—especially in some built in later days by Indians in so-called Arab style—a very considerable Indian element is noticeable both in constructive devices and in the use of sculptured monstrosities; and unquestionably some of the Arab and Mogul rulers themselves (such as the great Akbar) were influenced by the old Hindu architecture;² but Arab genius, on the whole, held

¹ This distinction may be made, as the original Arab (Saracen) invaders were by this time subjected to later invaders of Mauretanian race.

² The Hindu architect was fortunately often obliged to conform to the Moslim abhorrence of graven images, and the Arab saved his architecture from debasing influence by his abhorrence of Brahman idolatry—or 'popular

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its own as the informing spirit of the best that during some five centuries (*c.* 1200–1700) was produced in India. Some of the finest Arab-Indian buildings are the following :

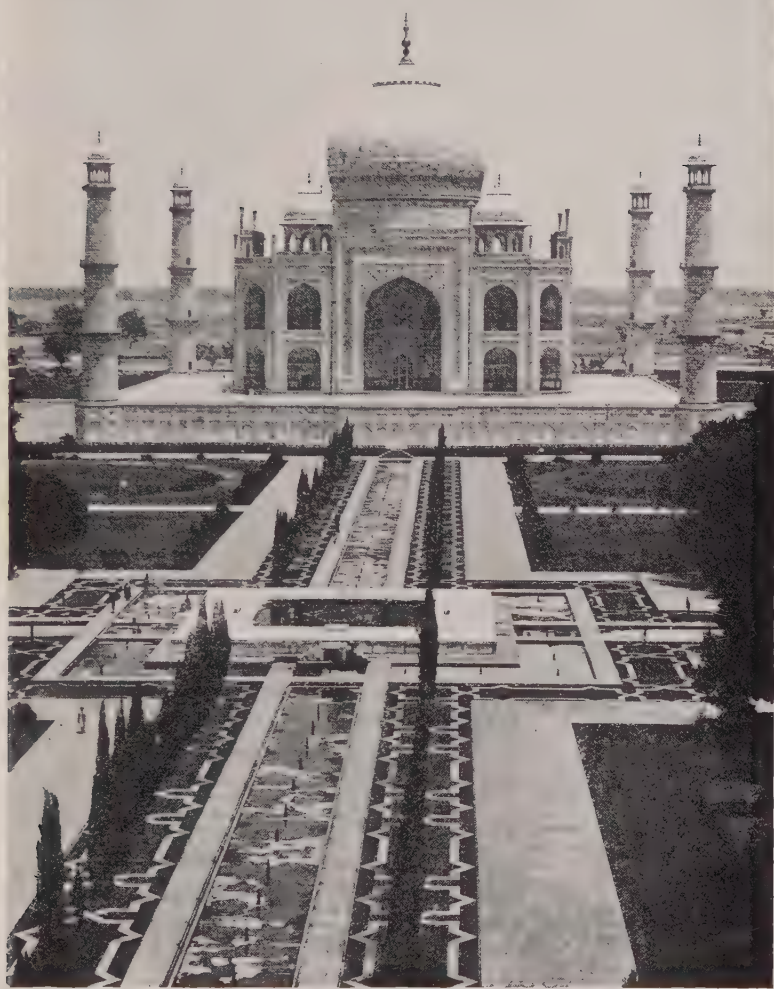
(1) At Old Delhi are remains of an ancient mosque (*c.* 1250) showing a fine recurved pointed arch similar to those in Oriental Arab architecture (*e.g.*, at Meshed, in Persia). At Old Delhi there is also the *Tower of Kutab* (begun in 1199), about 250 feet high, with five storeys marked by balconies, somewhat resembling an Oriental Arab cylindrical tapering minaret. It is decorated with arabesque and Arabic inscriptions.

(2) At Bijapur there is the vast mausoleum of the Mogul Sultan Mohammed Khan (*c.* 1553)—one of the finest of Arab-Indian monuments, with great polygonal minarets at its four corners and a dome larger than that of the Pantheon and higher than that of S. Sophia. This sultan was named ‘the Fool,’ and by his folly and extravagance brought temporary disaster on the Mogul Empire, but his mausoleum is a very much finer and larger monument than that of the far greater Sultan Humayun (*d.* 1556), father of Akbar, which is at Delhi, and with its red limestone and white marble encrustations makes, as Mr Havell says, an impression of ‘polished elegance.’

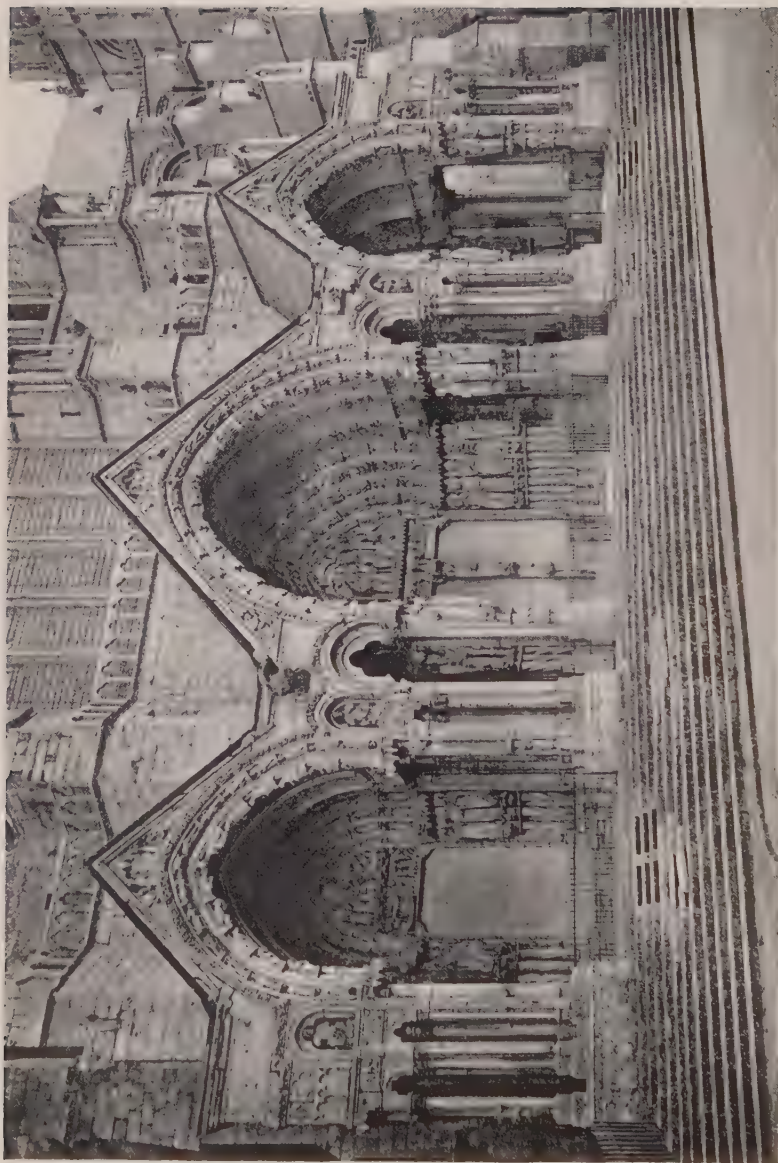
(3) At Agra, the capital (from *c.* 1526) of the Mogul conqueror Babur, there are palaces of the Great Moguls and a fine mosque called the *Pearl*, and at Sikandra, near Agra, is the marvellous, but artistically outrageous, pile of the great Mogul emperor Akbar, ‘planned,’ says Mr Havell, ‘on lines of a five-storied pyramidal Buddhist pavilion.’ It rises with a series of pavilions and terraces, and on the summit lay the sarcophagus of Akbar, open to the sky ; and close by the sarcophagus was preserved, as the story goes, the Koh-i-Nur diamond. Akbar died in the year 1605.

(4) At Agra is also what, although of fairly modern date, is perhaps the finest of all Arab-Indian monuments, begun in 1630 by the Sultan Jahan, or Jehan, as the mausoleum of his favourite wife. This *Taj Mahal* is a vast domed building of noble proportions and dignity, recalling by its purity of style the best creations of Arab genius. It stands, like the Alhambra, in the midst of beautiful gardens furnished with marble reservoirs. The building employed, it is said, twenty thousand workmen for seventeen years. It is adorned with exquisite marbles, and with multitudes of precious stones contributed by all the richest provinces of India.

symbolism,’ as some call it, seeing that the Vedas allowed image-worship only as an indulgence for the uninitiated. The Brahman cult, largely superseded by the teachings of Buddha (whose advent was in 563 B.C.), was revived about A.D. 700 and attained its zenith in architectural production about 1100—shortly before the coming of the Turkish Arabs. The vast cavern-temples of the island of Elephanta, near Bombay (*c.* A.D. 700), and those of Ellora, and the huge *gopurams* of Southern India, etc., show, as Mr Havell allows, no rational principles of construction. In Dantesque language they may be called *non arti ma ruine*. They are like the gigantic, writhing, contorted, repulsive growths and serpentine and saurian horrors of a tropical forest. For a different estimate see *Aryan Rule in India*, by Mr E. B. Havell (Harrap and Co.).



213. THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA
Photo Johnston & Hoffmann, Calcutta



214. CHARTRES CATHEDRAL—NORTH PORCHES
Gothicized Romanesque
N.D. Photo

PART VI

THE GOTHIC ERA

CHAPTER I

NORTHERN GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE AND SPANISH ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE (c. 1120-1500)

THE Gothic era began considerably earlier and lasted longer in the countries north of the Alps than in Italy, where it was not until after the revival of sculpture and painting in the days of Niccolò Pisano and Giotto that pointed architecture, at first struggling for existence as an exotic, began to develop (c. 1280-1330) a distinctly Italian form, and this somewhat shortlived variety vanished during the first decades of the Quattrocento, at the appearance of Brunelleschi's round-arch style, which ere long was to be followed by the classical Cinquecento Renaissance.

The first two chapters, therefore, of this Part VI of the volume, which treat of Northern Gothic, take us down to about 1500, whereas the last, which treats of the rise of the Italian variety of Gothic and the contemporary revival of sculpture and painting, takes us only to about 1300; and this Tuscan classical revival will serve as a stepping-stone to the subject of the next two Parts, viz., Italian art during the Trecento (in which century Gothic still prevailed, especially in palace architecture) and during the Quattrocento.

The number of Gothic buildings erected in France, England, and Germany was so great that I shall treat each country separately and shall have to limit myself to a comparatively small number of specimens and, in most cases, little besides names and dates.

And here it will be well to make a few preliminary remarks on the origin and nature of what is generally called

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'Gothic'—an epithet, equivalent to 'barbarous,' probably given to the new Northern style by Italian Romanesque and Renaissance zealots.¹ Whether the wonderful change of style that in a few years spread over a great part of Western Christendom was due primarily to the discovery of the possibilities of the pointed arch or of those of so-called *ogival* vaulting is much disputed. Probably it was due to both, and also of course to certain movements, social and political, which were bound to favour immensely any such new enthusiasm; for a new national consciousness was rapidly gaining strength, especially in France, and cities and communes were beginning to vie in erecting vast buildings—first cathedrals and later civic edifices—the architects being now mostly laymen, the founders and donors often municipal bodies and rich citizens, and the workmen not seldom volunteers from the people. The old monastic era of Romanesque suddenly gave way to that of a new, popular, and civic architecture, and in a surprisingly short time much the same had happened as that which we noted after the passing of the fateful year A.D. 1000, when, according to old Raoul Glaber, Christendom cast aside its outworn attire and put on a fresh white robe of new-built churches.

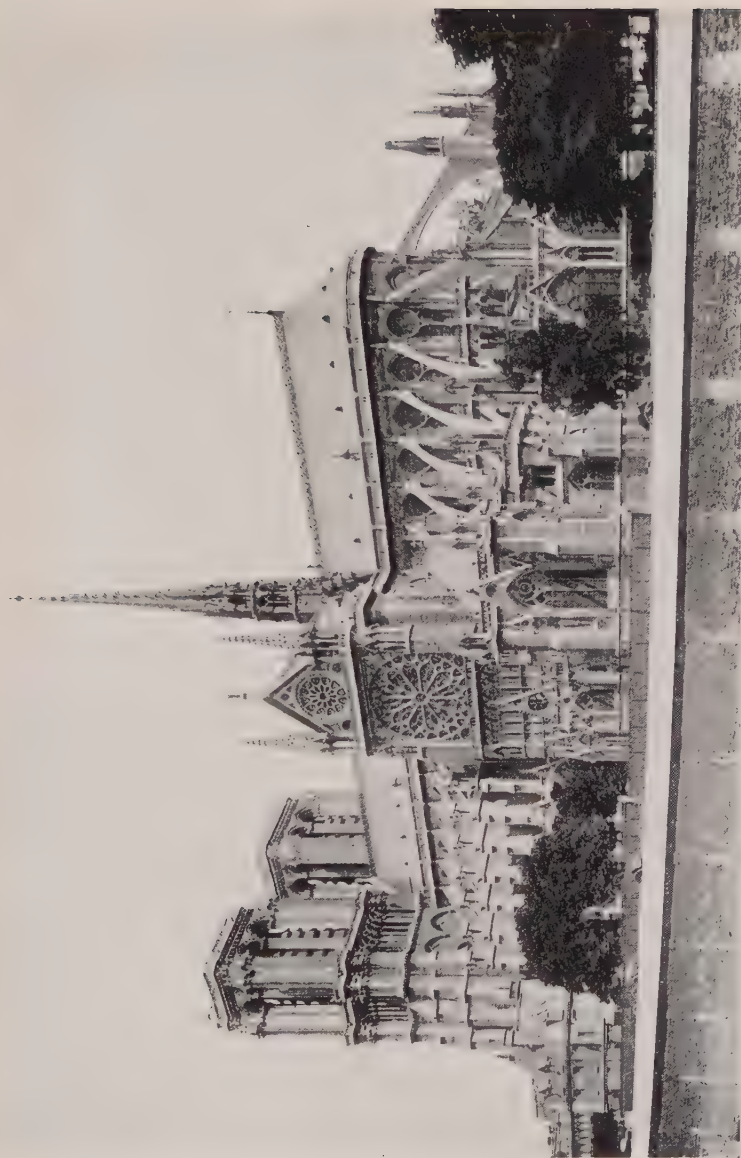
The broken arc,² which we seem to regard as the essential feature in the 'Pointed Style,' is found not only occasionally in Romanesque but frequently in the architecture of the Arabs; and they probably adopted it from that of the powerful Persian Sassanid dynasty, which (A.D. 641) they overthrew. However, the matter of importance is not the first use of a pointed arch; it is the discovery and the realization of its constructive possibilities, especially in combination with ogival vaulting; and here the claims of Northern France seem to be strongest.³

The word 'ogive' is said to be the late Latin *augiva*, formed from *augere*, to 'augment' or 'strengthen.' The

¹ *Lo stile tedesco* and *lo stile arabo-tedesco di corrotto gusto* are expressions found in old Italian writers.

² See *Medieval Italy*, p. 529, and *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 194 sq. I find that in his *Histoire des Beaux-Arts* Peyre speaks of *l'arc brisé*.

³ The Gothic reconstruction of Canterbury Cathedral (1174) was by a French architect. The choir of Lincoln (c. 1190) is probably the first genuine English Gothic building of importance. Chichester (c. 1186) is the finest specimen of Norman-Gothic Transition.



215. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS, FROM THE SOUTH

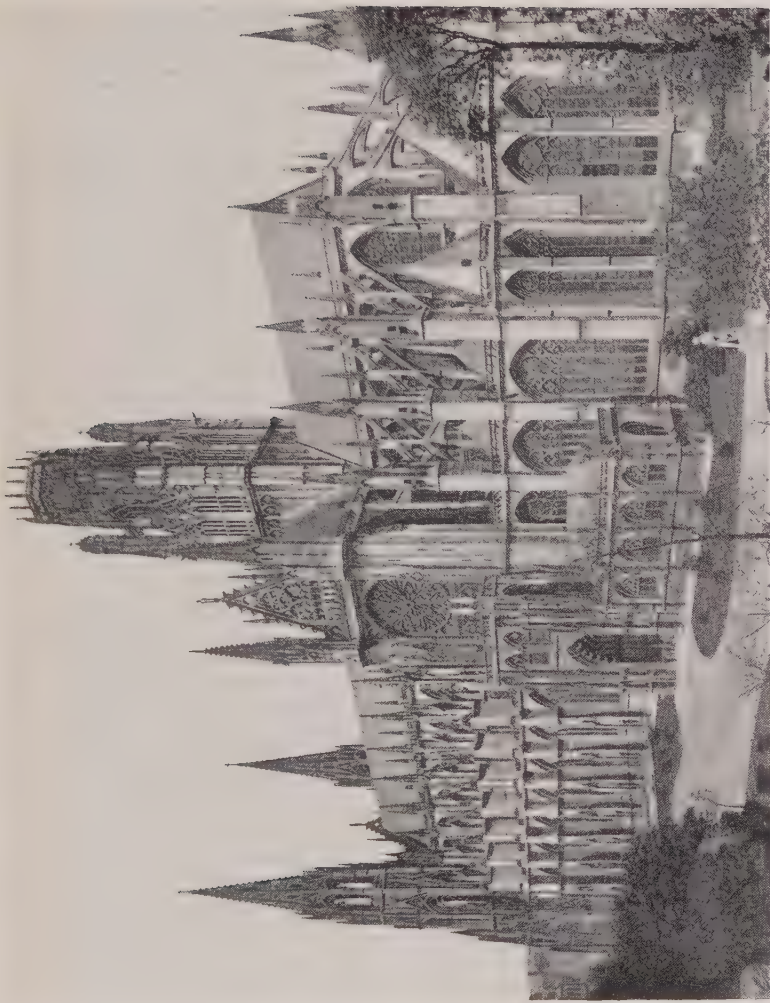
Choir begun in 1163; transept c. 1260

X Photo



216. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS—WEST FRONT

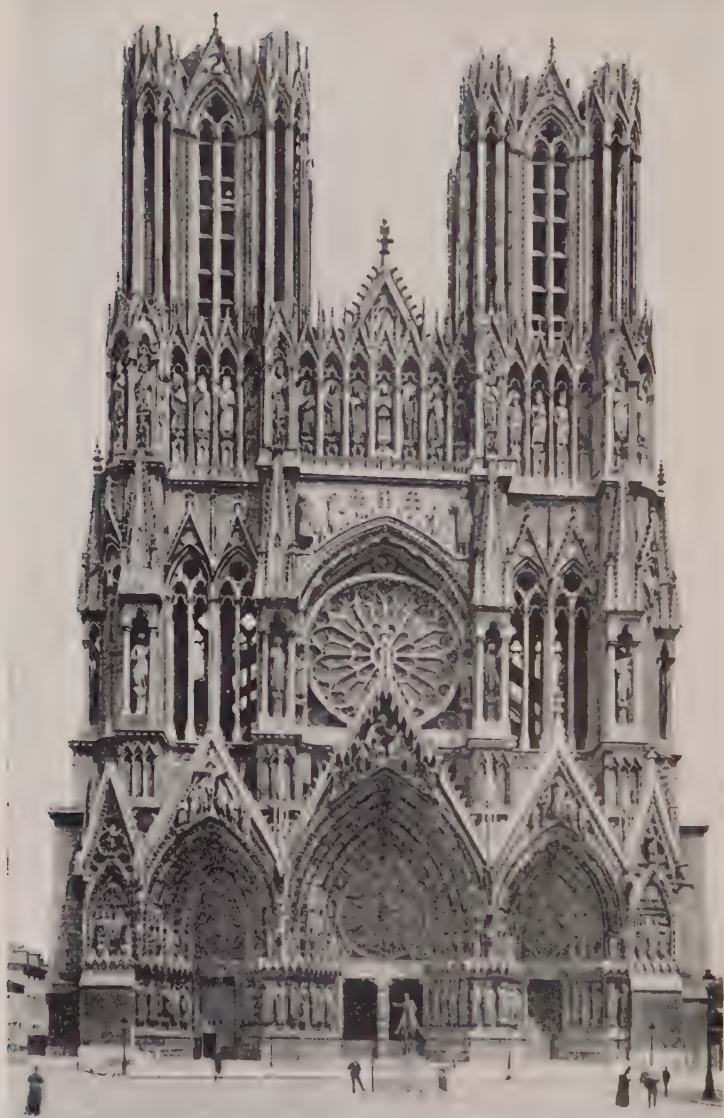
Photo Alinari



217. SAINT-OUEN, ROUEN

South side ; built (as nave and choir) c. 1300 in pure, rather frigid, earlier Gothic.
Window-traceries and other decorative parts later

N.D. Photo



218. REIMS CATHEDRAL
N.D. Photo

NORTHERN GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

crux augiva, or *croisée d'ogives*, meant the intersecting diagonal ribs of a groined vault, when they had ceased to be merely decorative and had become actual arches supporting the vault. In earlier days a vault or a dome consisted of a solidly built 'barrel' or cupola, which was usually of such immense weight that great difficulty was experienced in supporting it and counteracting the thrusts. (In some cases, *e.g.*, that of S. Vitale, terra-cotta vessels were used instead of masonry in order to lighten the thrust of a dome.) And even when the groined vault was invented by the crossing at right angles of two barrel-vaults the difficulty as to weight and support was not decreased. But as soon as the two intersecting ribs were converted into actual arches supported on the four piers of the bay they became the main structural part of the vault. The rest of the vault might now be of quite light material (its function being merely that of the cover of an umbrella), and the relief from thrust experienced by the walls of the building was such that they too could be constructed of light material¹ or might be almost entirely replaced by vast windows, while the lateral pressure exerted by the lightened vaults on the piers was transmitted by means of oblique 'flying' bridges or arches, sometimes of great length, sloping down to the strongly built, vertical buttresses which formed the external support of the aisle-vaulting. (See Fig. 215.)

The buttressing of a Gothic cathedral is, moreover, effectively reinforced by the huge towers, topped by steeples, that generally flank the west façade and stand at the four corners of the transepts, which intersect the church now nearer the middle.²

Thus we have, as a result of ogival vaulting, a vast building held together, and great domes poised in mid-air, by a system of balance that needs a very much less massive structure than was necessary in Romanesque architecture.³

¹ This facilitated very much the building of great edifices, for small local material was used instead of large quarried stone brought from a distance.

² It will have been observed that the flying buttresses abolish the old Romanesque galleries over the aisles. Between the aisle-roof and the nave-vaulting we now have a wall pierced with windows, called the clerestory.

³ Something inartistic must surely be culpable when one is given a sensation of insecurity by not being able to see from inside the building how it is held together.

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With such a system the interior height of a cathedral could be greatly increased. Clusters of slim shafts composed the piers of the nave, and some of these shafts soared up, sometimes over 100 or even 150 feet, and radiated, as it were, into the intersecting ogives of the vaulting.

But it needed the introduction of the *pointed* ogival arch (introduced primarily probably to meet some special difficulty in the vaulting) to develop the full possibilities of the new style. It was found that with the use of the broken arc an almost infinite variety of pointed arches could be formed, and all kinds of rectangular and other bases were easily vaulted, whereas with the old round-arched ogives only a square base was practicable.

The use of the pointed arch in ogival vaulting changed the whole character of architecture in a remarkably short time, facilitating a thousand different shapes and heights. As already stated, it was in Northern France that this seems to have been first realized on a large scale—a fact that seems confirmed by a synonym for the new architecture common in the twelfth century, namely *opus francigenum*.¹

(a) France

It was not in the whole of France, but in the north, and especially in the Ile-de-France and the basin of the Seine, that Gothic made its first important appearance. Here, in the Royal Domain, was then forming the nucleus round which the provinces of the *langue d'oc* were to coalesce into a nation. Here monarchy and, at the same time, communal life (that of the *Tiers Etat*, of burgher and municipal polity, of guilds and commercial franchise) were developing a new civic order, of which the new architecture was an outward and visible sign. It was during the reigns of Philippe-Auguste and Louis IX (say, *c.* 1180–1270) that the foundations both of national greatness and of Gothic architecture were firmly established.

The different periods of French Gothic are as follows :
From *c.* 1120 to *c.* 1190 it was in transition and development

¹ Durham Cathedral however, as we shall see, claims to possess the earliest specimen of the 'free-ribbed' vault.



219. AMIENS CATHEDRAL
X Photo



220. ROUEN CATHEDRAL

From east end. Façade and façade-towers already considered (see p. 251). The two transept portals, de la Calende and des Libraires, are celebrated for their rich flamboyant decorations. This shows exterior of choir (apse) and Lady-chapel with radiate windows. The central spire over lantern is of iron (enormously high), of much later date

N.D. Photo

NORTHERN GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

and is called 'primitive.' From *c.* 1190 to *c.* 1240 was the period of the 'lancet' window. From *c.* 1240 to *c.* 1350 we have 'radiating' Gothic, and from *c.* 1350 to *c.* 1500 *flamboyant*.

The chief cathedrals wholly or partly built during these various periods are :

Period I (Transition, *c.* 1120-90)

Noyon Cathedral (Dep. Oise), begun *c.* 1130. In the façade and elsewhere both the round arch and the pointed are used ; and the general character is early transitional with no flying buttresses.

The choir (over a Romanesque crypt) of the *Abbey Church of Saint-Denis*, near Paris, begun by the famous minister Abbot Suger, *c.* 1140. Cf. Fig. 205.

Saint-Etienne at Sens, begun *c.* 1140.

Laon Cathedral, begun *c.* 1160, has a façade like that of *Notre-Dame de Paris*, but heavier and with deeply recessed porches.

The choir of *Notre-Dame*, begun in 1163 and almost finished during the reign of Philippe-Auguste. The transept porches date from *c.* 1260, and the cathedral was enlarged during the 'radiating' period (*i.e.*, *c.* 1290) by the addition of chapels. The very slanting flying buttresses of the choir give the appearance, as is often remarked, of a galley with banks of long, sweeping oars. See Fig. 215.

Period II (Lancet, *c.* 1190-1240)

Chartres Cathedral, begun in Romanesque style *c.* 1150, but entirely destroyed (except façade) in 1194 and rebuilt at once between that date and 1260, when St Louis consecrated it. Gothic sculptures, chapels, spire, etc., added later.

Bourges Cathedral (begun *c.* 1200) is without transepts. The west front has five richly sculptured porches corresponding to the nave and the four aisles. The long slanting flying buttresses resemble those of the choir of *Notre-Dame*.

Reims Cathedral (*c.* 1210-1300, and lengthened later to afford room for the multitudes that flocked to the coronations). The main building was terribly injured in the late war. The façade somewhat resembled that of *Notre-Dame*, but was reconstructed about 1300 and is overladen with florid ornament and shelters a great number of sculptured figures, among them a 'Gallery of the Kings.' Such 'galleries,' extending across the whole breadth of the façade, but below the great rose-windows, are, or were, also possessed by *Notre-Dame* and the cathedrals of Amiens, and Exeter, and Salisbury, which last has great lancet windows in its façade and several broken lines of statues.

Also *Amiens Cathedral*, begun in 1220 and completed (after damage by fire) about 1270, has a façade and towers, the general features of which recall (or recalled, before the late war) *Notre-Dame*. The interior is considered to present perhaps the finest example of what French Gothic has given us in perfection of proportion and in the 'ethereal' effect produced by soaring

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shafts and by the enormous vault poised so lightly aloft, 'like a sail upheld by a continuous wind from below' (Hourticq). The great French architect and critic, Viollet-le-Duc, called Amiens Cathedral 'the Parthenon of Gothic architecture.'

Beauvais Cathedral, rebuilt from 1225, was meant to outrival the cathedral of the neighbouring city, Amiens; but 'vaulting ambition did o'erleap itself.' Every possibility of Gothic art, we are told, was forced to such an extreme that collapse was inevitable. The enormously lofty choir fell in, and when rebuilt needed double pillars to support it. Gigantic buttresses throw out a multitude of long arms, as M. Hourticq says, to support the tall and frail-looking apse. A spire 486 feet high was added in the sixteenth century and fell to the ground.¹

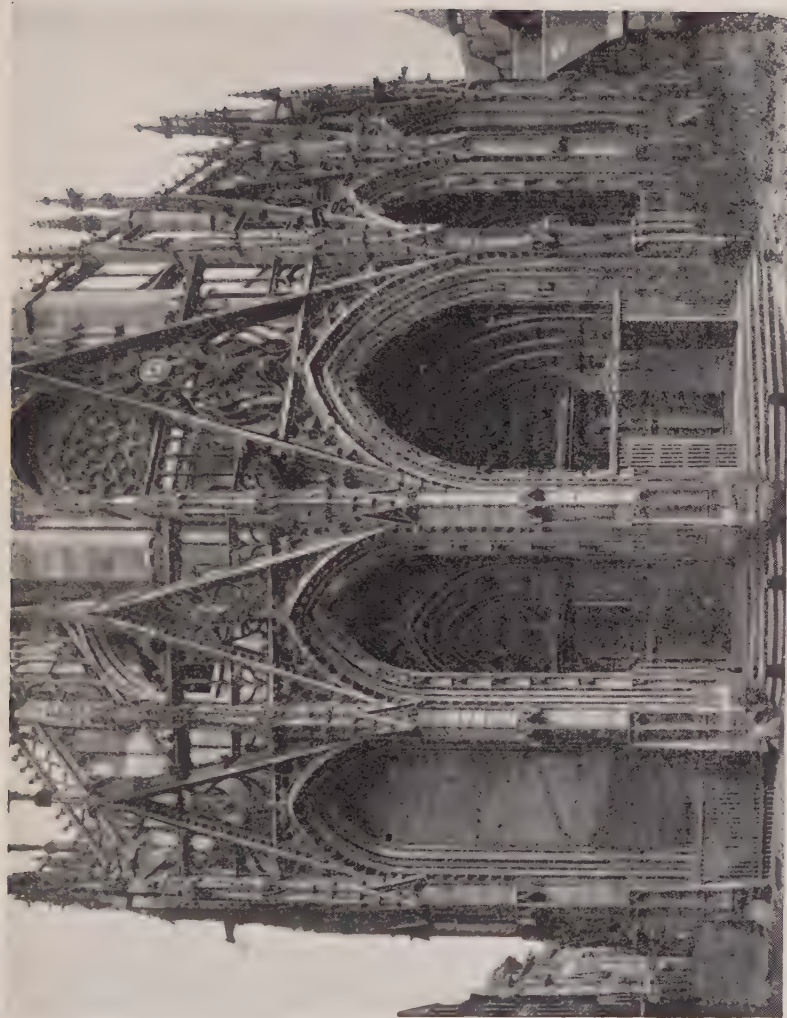
Period III (Radiating, c. 1240-1350)

The *rayonnant* style in French Gothic architecture is so called from the window-tracery, which is often 'radiating,' i.e., showing trefoil, quatrefoil, cinquefoil, or multifoil geometric figures inscribed in a circle. The earliest form of such tracery was produced by grouping two lancet windows under a single moulding and piercing the tympanum with a circular aperture in which (as in the Doges' Palace tracery) a radiating figure was inscribed. Then (exactly as in the English early geometrical Decorated) each lancet window was divided into two smaller lancets and the new tympana thus created were filled in by, say, trefoils in circles. And finally one has, as in more florid English Decorated, a broad window formed of a number of lancets surmounted by a whole system of such 'radiating' multifoil tracery.²

Of this period La Sainte-Chapelle (built mainly between 1242 and 1270) is the finest example. It was designed by Pierre de Montereau for Louis IX (St Louis), who, before his Crusade, received from the Byzantine 'Latin' Emperor what was believed to be the Crown of Thorns and a portion of the True Cross, and wished to erect a worthy sanctuary for these relics. Over a crypt with ornamented ogival vaulting is the Chapel Royal, the wondrous stained windows and

¹ It is intelligible that, even when theoretically an audacious structure seems practicable, calculations may be nullified by factors that insinuate themselves when a certain size is surpassed. Amazing successes, says Hourticq, sometimes gave rise to the belief that the architect had made a compact with the devil.

² It should be noted that even such an authority as Carotti interprets 'radiating' in this case also as referring to the chapels built out like radiating lobes from the apse which are found so often in Romanesque churches (e.g., Saint-Sernin, at Toulouse).



221. SAINT-MACLOU, ROUEN
N.D. Photo



222. MONT-SAINT-MICHEL

Abbey and ramparts rebuilt by Philippe-Auguste, c. 1200

N.D. Photo

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the gilded decoration of which do not entirely prevent one from admiring the beauty of the upward-soaring clustered shafts and the proportions of the architectural form. The now demolished St Stephen's, Westminster, was somewhat similar, but it had a wooden roof and (as not infrequent in English Gothic) a square east end instead of an apse.

Other churches of this period are :

Saint-Ouen, at Rouen (see Fig. 217).

Coutances Cathedral, a specimen of Transition (c. 1225) with both lancet and 'radiating' windows. The façade and towers, topped with *flèches*, make a dignified appearance, reminding one somewhat of Saint-Etienne at Caen.

The abbey churches of *Notre-Dame* and *Saint-Philibert* at Dijon, and of *Saint-Urbain* at Troyes. The choir of *Bayeux Cathedral*. *Evreux Cathedral* (c. 1280). Also many chapels, magnificent windows, etc., in many cathedrals of earlier style.

Period IV (*Flamboyant*, c. 1350-1500)

Hitherto the realization, sometimes over-audacious, of theoretic mechanical possibilities had mainly interested the Gothic builder. One of the results had been that by elaborating a more and more perfect system of balance the structure had been reduced to what M. Hourticq calls a 'puny ossature'; and now, in order to drape this somewhat emaciated nudity, architects added ever greater quantities of ornamentation that in time entirely concealed that constructive form in which the beauty of a building, as of a flower, essentially consists. Crockets, bosses, cusps, elaborated traceries, gargoyles, decorative mouldings, fantastic finials, multitudinous pinnacles, stalactite vault pendants, gables with 'rigid lacework' showing against the sky, 'spears of stone or metal on every summit,' sharply tapering spires (*flèches*) surrounded by belfry turrets or smaller spires—under such drapery and decoration some of the cathedrals of this period, as for instance the cathedral and Saint-Maclou at Rouen, almost disappear.

Window-tracery loses now more and more all self-restraint, and finally all that form which is necessary in art. It assumes the character of writhing tongues of flame (hence the name given to this period).

The chief specimens of French *flamboyant* Gothic are the following. It must be remembered, however, that during

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these 150 years great changes, in many cases great degeneration, took place. The era of true Gothic architecture was rapidly passing, so that early in the period we find really fine and self-restrained architecture and toward the end very painful extravagance. Specimens of the period are :

Transepts and other parts of *Saint-Ouen*, Rouen.

Parts of *Rouen Cathedral*, especially the two richly decorated transept porches.

Saint-Gervais, Paris.

Saint-Maclou, Rouen (Fig. 221).

South porch of the church of *Louviers*.

Façade of *La Trinité*, Vendôme.

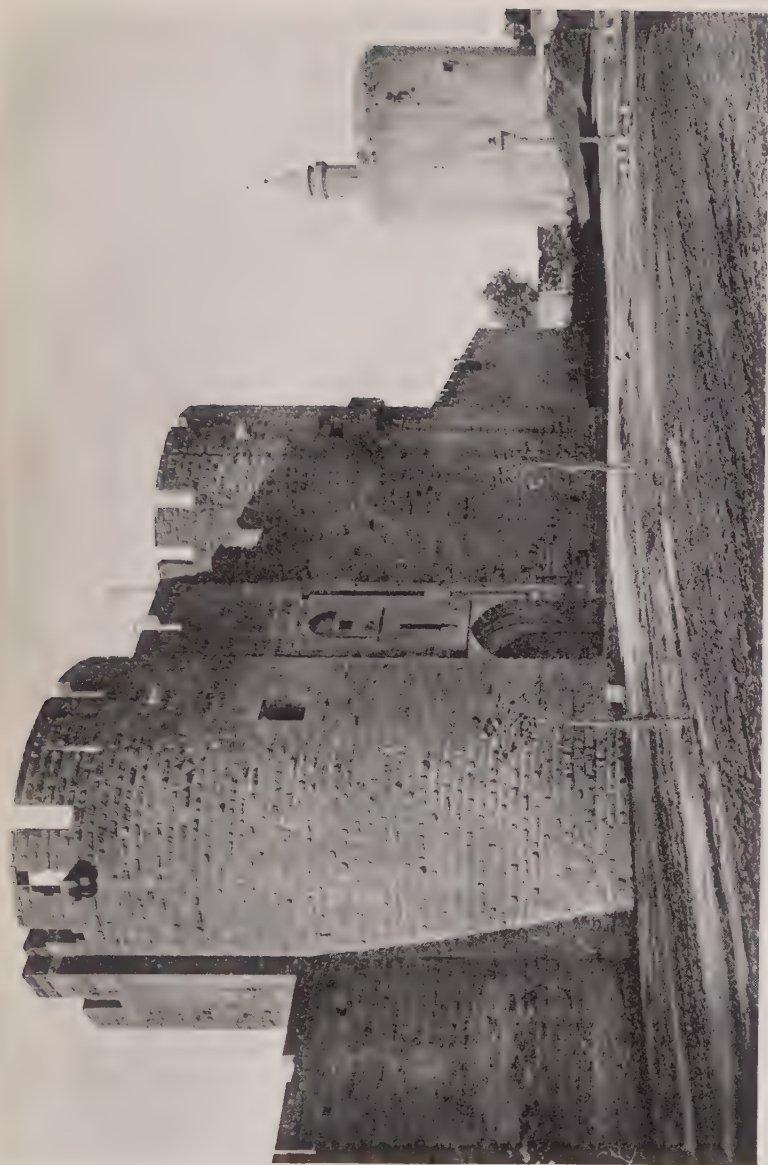
Façade portal of *Notre-Dame*, Mantes.

Besides the cathedrals and other churches of French Gothic should be noted, but cannot be here more than mentioned in passing, the French Gothic monastic buildings (Mont-Saint-Michel), castles (Coucy, Vincennes, Pierrefonds), and civic edifices (Rouen Palais de Justice), palaces (of the Burgundian dukes at Dijon, and the vast Palais des Papes at Avignon), as well as gates, fortresses, and bridges (Aigues-Mortes and Cahors). More on this subject will be given in Part IV of the second volume of this book.

(b) England (see Figs. 225-234)

A vast Northern cathedral, as indeed many another large building, very naturally shows architecture of more than one period. Most cathedrals originally Norman have Gothic additions, and many so-called Gothic cathedrals are a medley of various styles.

The origins and nature of the Gothic style have been discussed in the last section. The epithets 'ogival' and 'pointed' seem to intimate appropriately the somewhat different origin of French and of English Gothic; for it was apparently the *croisée d'ogives* in the new French vaulting that led up to other Gothic features, and incidentally to the pointed ogival arch, whereas in England the pointed arch seems to have been the prime agency in developing the new style. Curiously enough, however, it is in England, not in France, that the earliest known specimen of free-ribbed,



223. RAMPARTS OF AIGUES-MORTES

A seaport in S. France fortified by Philippe III (1270-85)

N.D. Photo



224. THE GOTHIC BRIDGE OF CAHORS

Le Pont Valentré. Begun in 1308

Photo Mansell

NORTHERN GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

if not actually of ogival, vaulting exists, namely in Durham Cathedral. But this is evidently what one might call a sporadic specimen, like the curious Gothic features in the Romanesque basilica of S. Ambrogio at Milan (*c.* 1050).

The three chief periods of English Gothic are, roughly, the three centuries of the era, viz., 1200–1300 (Early English), 1300–1400 (Decorated), 1400–1500 (Perpendicular).

Period I (Early English, *c.* 1200–1300)

Early English, or Lancet, Gothic shows, in many cases very markedly, the transition from Norman. The structure continues to be massive; the east end is usually square instead of apsidal, as it is in Continental churches; the towers are built solidly, four-square and flat-topped; and the timber roof not seldom remains, whereas in French Gothic the ogival vaulting begins early to be a characteristic feature. The bulky Norman pier or column, however, soon begins to become a central pillar surrounded with slim, free shafts from base to capital; then the pointed vaulting and all the results thereof appear—the flying buttresses, the lancet windows, the loftiness and graceful poise and the lightness of structure, soon to be followed by the vast windows and traceries of the subsequent period.

As still more markedly was the case in Italy, there was in England an exotic and a genuinely native Gothic.

Of the former a striking example is the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, built (1174–78) by the Frenchman Guillaume de Sens, the cathedral of which town shows very beautiful French Gothic work.

The choir and transepts of Lincoln Cathedral (*c.* 1190) may show French influence, but the architect was English and the unquestionably successful attempts to carry out French theory in original forms seem to prove that this is perhaps the earliest really important specimen of true English Gothic.

But the most complete example of typical English Gothic is Salisbury, and, according to Sir W. Armstrong, it shows, perhaps, ‘happier external proportions than any other Gothic cathedral, either in England or abroad. Nowhere else do we find . . . the same gradual development of

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beautiful forms from the ground to the apex of the spire.' The spire is fourteenth-century work. The greater part of the rest dates from *c.* 1220–50.

Other specimens of this first period are large parts of Wells Cathedral; the Abbey Church of Malmesbury; the north transept of York Minster, with its 'Five Sisters' (Fig. 228); parts of Durham, Elgin, and Glasgow Cathedrals; the west porch of Ely, etc. The choir of Westminster, Early English in style, was erected between 1245 and 1269. The transepts and chapter-house show transition to Decorated, and the nave, though Early English Gothic in style, was not completed till the fifteenth century. (See Figs. 229 and 230.)

Period II (Decorated, *c.* 1300–1400)

The evolution of English 'decorated' window-tracery is similar to that described under the French 'radiating' period. At first the designs were simple and geometric, but toward the end of the century they became more and more arbitrary and extravagant, till they ended in something similar to the French *flamboyant* tracery—which indeed is said to have been derived from England. Much of the earlier, and not a little of the later, English 'decorated' window-tracery is of exquisite beauty and lends itself superbly to stained glass.

Fine examples of the Decorated style are given by the great rose-windows and other parts of the cathedrals of Exeter (1285–1367), York, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, etc. Many of the polygonal chapter-houses attached to our cathedrals, and possessing very beautiful windows, are of this period.

In Scotland (which can show much fine Tudor domestic architecture) there is scarcely a sign of imported Decorated Gothic, Dryburgh perhaps being almost a solitary example; but a national variety had a vigorous, though transient, existence and left traces at Glasgow (the cathedral), Holyrood, Rosslyn, and Kirkwall.

Period III (Perpendicular, *c.* 1400–1500)

'Perpendicular Gothic' seems to contain a contradiction in terms, for the vital principle of Gothic, however great its soaring tendency, is not verticality, but the convergence of

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225. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL—INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST
Photo Mansell



226. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL
Photo Mansell

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two arcs, and this convergence is at once nullified by the suggestion of parallelism to all infinity, given, for instance, by the mullions of many Perpendicular windows, and by conspicuous horizontal hood-mouldings, etc. Moreover, the ways in which one's mind reacts to a genuine Gothic cathedral and to a genuine Perpendicular edifice are totally different. The former makes the impression of an organic unity—the same kind of impression as that made by a great tree—while to a great extent we estimate the latter as consisting of a number of upright rectangular sections. A certain amount of what I have called 'convergence,' however, asserts itself, so that one feels there is still a vital difference between the Perpendicular and the architraval system, and that one may regard the former as a kind of Gothic. Thus windows in which perpendicular mullions are a conspicuous feature often have geometrical tracery with pointed lights in the upper parts, and a more or less pointed arch is used above windows and portals. Such an arch became later flattened out into the 'four-centred' or 'Tudor' arch, or else flourished upward into an exuberant 'ogee,' or took the form of a ship's inverted hull as a 'keel arch.'

The Perpendicular is a style exclusively English. Except in imitations, it does not exist outside England, although in fifteenth-century Belgian civic architecture something somewhat similar is noticeable. The fancy for vertical lines was probably incited by their occasional appearance in window-tracery, and the fashion spread until 'perpendicularity' permeated the whole building, down to quite small details, causing in time the total disappearance of foliage and other Gothic ornamentation.

A characteristic of this style is 'fan-vaulting.' The boss of the ogival vault had gradually expanded into a stalactite pendant of pyramidal or conical form. Such 'pendulous vaulting' (of which a striking example is in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey) became covered with stone lace, the ribs of the vault meeting in the pendant and forming a fan-like design. Also from the capitals of shafts a similar fan-tracery opened upward and spread itself over the vaults. The earliest, and one of the finest, examples of such fan-vaulting is to be seen in the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral.

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Very numerous fine Perpendicular buildings were erected in England from the reign of Richard II down to about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII (say, 1380 to 1530), when the Tudor style began to prevail.

Of earlier Perpendicular fine examples are the nave and west transepts of Canterbury Cathedral, the nave of Winchester Cathedral, the buildings of New College, Oxford, and the splendid east window of York Minster. Then in the later part of the period we have, besides countless manors, halls, colleges, chapels, and civic edifices, some very fine towers, such as those of Magdalen College, Oxford, and St Mary's, Taunton.

Of the ecclesiastical buildings the most famous is perhaps King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which internally resembles a very grand cathedral nave flanked by vast and splendid stained-glass windows and overhung by the 'miracle in stone' of its fan-vaulting. (Fig. 233.)

Another, rather late but very fine, Perpendicular edifice is Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey (Fig. 234), and a still later example, less finely designed, but very richly furnished and adorned, is St George's Chapel, Windsor.

Very striking products of this Perpendicular period are the tombs—which will be noted in the second volume of this book—and the magnificent (but much restored) screens, such as the great reredos, with its galleries of statues, in New College Chapel. The square east ends, common in English Gothic, lend themselves well to such screens, as also to splendid windows. Grand timber roofs are another Perpendicular characteristic. A fine example is that of Westminster Hall.

(c) Flanders (see Figs. 235 and 236)

All the finest Flemish Gothic churches date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *e.g.*, the cathedrals of Tournai, Malines, Louvain (now mainly destroyed), Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels (Sainte-Gudule). The Notre-Dame of Bruges was finished just before the fourteenth century. Some of the Gothic civic edifices of Flanders, such as the Trade Halls and the Hôtels de Ville (*e.g.*, of Bruges, Brussels, Malines,

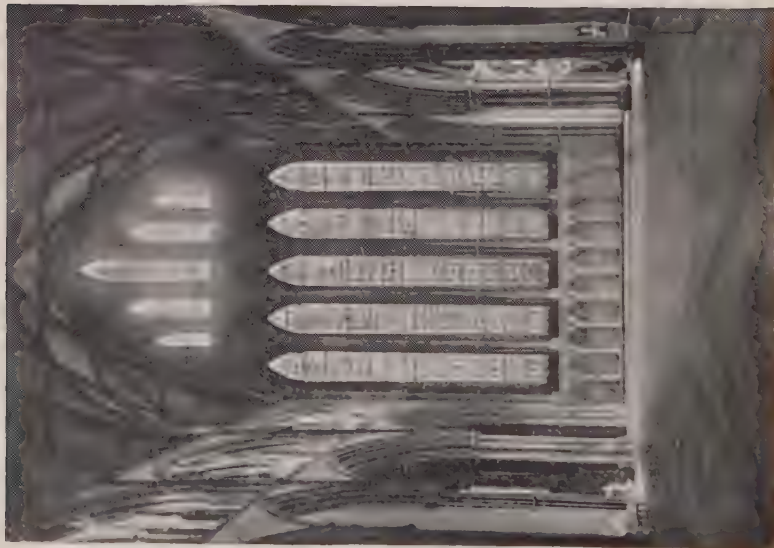
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227. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

c. 1220-50. The spire somewhat later. See pp. 285-6

Photo Mansel



228. 'THE FIVE SISTERS,' YORK MINSTER

See p. 286

Photo Mansell



229. CHAPTER-HOUSE, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

See p. 280. Restored by Sir Gilbert Scott

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Photo Mansell

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etc.), are fine examples of later (mostly *flamboyant*) Gothic. The belfries and bells of Flemish churches and civic buildings are of special beauty and interest.

(d) Germany (see Fig. 237)

We have seen that in the case of many Rhineland and other German cathedrals the original Romanesque building has received very large Gothic additions. The new style was accepted reluctantly. It was introduced from France probably by Cistercian Benedictines and by lay French architects and perhaps by Germans trained in France. The finest specimens of this added or superimposed exotic Gothic are to be seen at Limburg, Strasbourg (1227), Bamberg, and Mainz. A genuinely German type, of very considerable beauty, is offered by the cathedral of Freiburg (Breisgau), the Frauenkirche at Trier (Trèves), which is strikingly rich and elaborate interiorly, and the enormous pile of Cologne Cathedral—probably the biggest Gothic edifice in the world¹—which took over six hundred years to complete, the south spire dating from 1880. Externally the building fails to make use of its gigantic dimensions, giving one the impression of a much smaller Gothic building viewed through a magnifying glass. Internally it is somewhat cold and unattractive, lacking in beauty and in dignity; and whatever attraction it possesses is marred by a great deal of crudely glaring and vulgarly designed modern glass. This cathedral, founded in 1248, evidently owed its original plan to French models; and doubtless the chief of these models was Amiens Cathedral,² which was founded about 1220.

A curious feature of some German Gothic churches (*e.g.*, those of Marburg, Soest, and Bonn) is that they consist of a nave and aisles all of equal height, so that flying buttresses

¹ Taking into consideration the immense mass of the towers and the spires, one of which is 525 feet high. Its interior length (435½ feet) is beaten by that of Milan (486 feet) and by Seville, which, including the Capilla Real, is about 460 feet. Seville has an area of 124,000 sq. feet, as against Milan's 90,000; but, as in many Spanish churches, a comparatively small, free, interior space is surrounded by very numerous and large side-chapels.

² The first architect of Cologne Cathedral is said to have been a native of Liège. As we have seen, the new style was called in Germany *opus francigenum* (French work), while in Spain and Italy it was called *tedesco* (German).

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are rendered impossible. Many, moreover, possess transepts terminated by apses, which together with the presbytery apse give the east end of the building a trefoil shape.

Later German Gothic produced a number of churches and civic edifices, some of undeniable beauty but many of them lacking just that grace in design and harmony in proportion which are, perhaps, more essential in this style than in any other. Of such buildings the chief are the cathedrals of Augsburg, Regensburg, Ulm (with a huge bell-tower, 6 feet higher than the north spire at Cologne), S. Lorenz at Nürnberg, S. Stephan at Vienna, the Dom of Prag, and the choir (*c.* 1370-1410) of Charlemagne's celebrated Byzantine chapel, now the Dom, at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Among genuine Gothic municipal buildings in Germany are noticeable the Brunswick Rathaus (Town Hall) and those of Lübeck and Münster. They date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

(e) Spain (see Figs. 238-40)

The Moorish buildings in Spain have been already described in the chapter on Arab architecture, but I have reserved Spanish Romanesque to be treated in connexion with Gothic, seeing that, although it is interesting for its own sake and for its occasional Moorish features, the main interest lies in its development, during a long period of transition, into an exceedingly fine species of the Pointed style, massive, simple, and not without grandeur, until it lost these characteristics, aimed more at that 'triumph of the void' which inspired Northern architects, and degenerated, as did Northern Gothic, into *flamboyant* extravagances that ruined its beauty of pure form.

Spanish architecture, down to Renaissance times, divides itself thus :

- (a) Roman and Visigoth (to *c.* 735).
- (b) Moorish (*c.* 735 to *c.* 1492, during which seven and a half centuries the ever more widely extending Christian architecture took the following forms).
- (c) 'Asturian' (*c.* 735 to *c.* 900).



230. WESTMINSTER ABBEY—INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST

See p. 286

Photo Mansell



231. EXETER CATHEDRAL

Built 1285-1367. Façade, nave, and choir fine examples of Decorated Gothic. See p. 286

Photo F. Frith & Co., Ltd.

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- (d) Early Romanesque, called in Spain 'Byzantine' (c. 900 to c. 1150).
- (e) Transition; a combination (c. 1150 to c. 1250) of Romanesque with Gothic of early French 'lancet' nature.
- (f) Gothic, like that of French *rayonnant* (c. 1300 to c. 1400).
- (g) Gothic, like that of Northern *flamboyant* (c. 1400 to c. 1500).

(a) Of Roman architecture there are some fine survivals. At Alcantara exists a majestic granite bridge. At Merida, once a military colony founded by Augustus, there are remains of two bridges (one originally of eighty-four arches), two aqueducts, a theatre, a triumphal arch, etc. At Segovia there is the very impressive aqueduct of Trajan, now called *el puente del Diablo*, with 119 arches, some of them 90 feet high. Of the Visigoth era (say, from the fall of the Western Empire in 476 until the Moorish conquest) there are only a few rather questionable relics—remains of small Christian basilicas, which show a Roman-Byzantine style modified by Northern (Visigoth) influences.

(b), (c) In 755 the Moors established an independent Caliphate at Cordova, having in the preceding twenty years conquered all Spain except the north-western mountainous regions of Asturias and Galicia bordering on the Bay of Biscay, which remained under the rule of Christian (Gothic) princes. These princes, aided by the Christians north of the Pyrenees (such as Charlemagne, whose rearguard suffered such disastrous rout at Roncesvalles in 778), gradually extended their sway over all Galicia, Leon, and Old Castile, and at last, in the days of Ferdinand I and his successor, the self-styled 'Emperor of Spain,' Alfonso VI (*acc.* 1065), and his famous *campeador*, the Cid,¹ Toledo, Valencia (1094), and other important cities, as well as a great part of Portugal were recaptured. Then, little by little, during the next four centuries, the infidel was driven back, until in 1492 (the very year in which Columbus first sighted America) Granada,

¹ *Cid*, or *Sid*, is an Arabic equivalent of 'Lord.' The Cid's name was Rodrigo Diaz (or Diz) de Bivar.

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the last stronghold of the Moslims, was taken by Ferdinand the Catholic, and they were expelled from the peninsula.

These facts make it evident that from the eighth to the eleventh century Moorish architecture must have prevailed exclusively over all the southern and central regions, and that at first, after the almost total conquest of the peninsula by the Moslims, Christian architecture must have been confined to parts of Asturias and Galicia. Of this so-called Asturian architecture the only relics are a few small basilica-like and cruciform churches—ponderously built, round-arched, strongly buttressed, wagon-vaulted edifices—in the neighbourhood of Oviedo, which served as capital to the Gothic kings of Asturias.¹

(d) Then, as the Asturian kings gradually drove back the Moors, churches of a primitive Romanesque type (somewhat like that of the early Roman-Lombard) were built in the recaptured cities. Among these cities were Barcelona² and Tarragona; for also Catalonia was recovered about this time (c. 800—some twenty years after the disaster of Roncesvalles) by St Louis of France.

But it was not until the days of the Cid and of Alfonso VI—the contemporary of William the Conqueror—that the first great churches of Spain were built, and a more decided and general type of Spanish Romanesque basilica, generally with three apses and barrel-vaulting, or (in early examples) with flat wooden roof, arose. One of the earliest and probably the finest of these is the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela,³ which gave its name to the former capital of Galicia, not far distant from Cape Finisterre and Corunna. This church (begun about 1080) is almost an exact copy (except that it has only two aisles) of the well-known Romanesque church of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse (built about 1060). The interior, with its massive

¹ *E.g.*, S. Maria de Naranco and S. Miguel de Lino, built by King Ranimiro I, about 850. See O'Shea's *Guide to Spain and Portugal*, edited by John Lomas, p. 339. (Black.)

² *E.g.*, S. Pablo and S. Pedro de las Puellas, built, it is said, in 914 and 983 respectively. S. Pablo is small and cruciform, with octagonal dome on pendentives, and with wagon-vaulting and three apses (Street).

³ The body of St James the Great, the national saint, was brought, it is said, to Spain soon after his execution. It disappeared, but was discovered by means of a bright star that guided a Bishop Theodomir to this spot, called thereafter the 'Star-field.'



232. KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

c. 1440

Photo Mansell



233. INTERIOR OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL

Photo Mansell



234. HENRY VII's CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

c. 1503-20

Photo Mausell

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columns of grouped shafts, its high-stilted round arches, its triforium gallery, its barrel-vaulted nave, and the groined vaulting of the aisles, makes an impression of dignity and restrained power, such as one receives on entering some fine Norman cathedral. Exteriorly the building is disfigured by a façade of 'churrigueresque' extravagance (late Renaissance rococo, so called from the Spanish Bernini, Churriguera, who died in 1725), to which the old western portal of 1188, the Portico de la Gloria, offers a wonderful contrast, being, although overladen and inartistic in its statuary, and even somewhat grotesque, anyhow unaffected and sincere.¹

Other early examples of this Romanesque style, introduced from France into Spain, are S. Millan at Segovia, S. Daniel at Gerona, S. Pablo at Barcelona, S. Pedro at Avila, Santiago at Corunna, and S. Isidoro at Leon. The last-mentioned, a cruciform church, was founded originally by Ferdinand I, who in 1035 united the provinces of Leon and Castile under his rule; but it seems to have been considerably altered or rebuilt about 1140-50, and its architecture seems to some extent imitated from that of Santiago de Compostela, or else directly from that of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse,² but it has an interesting admixture of Moorish, perceptible in stilted and cusped arches.

(e) Toward the middle of the twelfth century Gothic influences began to assert themselves. Massively built round arches became slightly pointed (as happened also, but from other causes, in the Sicilian Norman of the same era), and pointed arches were introduced amidst round arches, reminding one of the gradual appearance of the Corinthian column in old Greek architecture. A very picturesque transition style ensued which, while it substituted groined for barrel-vaulting in churches and cloisters and adopted the

¹ There is *naïveté* and earnestness in this celebrated portal (of which a cast is to be seen in Kensington Museum), but, however much we may admire the zeal and industry of old Master Matthew (evidently a foreigner) for devoting twenty years to his *chef-d'œuvre*, it surely does not rank higher than many a rude and grotesque product of early Italian and German Romanesque sculpture, and is artistically very far removed from early French Gothic sculpture, in spite of Mr Street's assertion that it is one of the greatest glories of Christian art. (See also p. 301.)

² Its ground-plan is however considerably different. It has, for instance, no radiating apsidal chapels, which are found at Santiago and in other Spanish Romanesque churches, and are so distinctive a feature of French Romanesque.

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one great apse at the east end, and used freely the column of clustered shafts, retained considerable massiveness, like the early 'lancet-window' Gothic of Northern architecture, still showing little sign of the coming 'triumph of the void'—that poising aloft of spacious, lightly built domes and the enclosure of mighty spaces by lightly built and lofty walls, often deprived of half their solidity by the insertion of vast windows—all which was to be made possible by the ogival arch. Examples of this transition style are especially the old cathedral of Salamanca and that of Tarragona.

The Salamanca Cathedral (*la Catedral Vieja*) is not large, but very massive, well justifying the old expression *Salamanca la fuerte*. It is mainly Romanesque and has the three semicircular apses. It was founded as early as 1100, soon after the capture of the city from the Moors in 1095 and the death of the Cid in 1099. The dome is especially fine—according to Street much finer than the rather similar Romanesque domes in France, such as that of Saint-Front (Périgueux), on account of the light admitted through the windows pierced in the high drum on which it stands.¹

Tarragona Cathedral, begun in 1118 but dating mainly from c. 1200–50, has a very noble interior with its great aisles, or rather lateral naves, divided off by twenty huge piers, which give it the character of a Norman cathedral. Here too the three east-end apses remain from the old building. Like other great Spanish churches, it has numerous side-chapels of later date, in Gothic style or Renaissance, most of them disfigured by 'churrigueresque.' The transept is fine, with massive pointed arches. The great octagonal dome is groined and lighted by groups of lancet windows. There is also a grand rose-window. The cloisters (c. 1190) are very picturesque, with their round Romanesque arches and their groined Gothic vaulting. (See Fig. 238.)

Besides this transition style, which had noble features and, if foreign influences had not been too strong, might have perhaps developed into a national architecture, there are

¹ An interesting fact in connexion with the old cathedral of Salamanca is that six times a year there is performed in it the so-called Muzarabic ritual, i.e., the ritual of the *mixti Arabes*, the Visigoths who lived under Moslim rule. At Toledo this ritual is performed daily in a special chapel.



235. THE BELFRY OF BRUGES

1376-87

Photo Mansell



236. HÔTEL DE VILLE, BRUSSELS

1402-54
Photo Giraudon

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in Spain, as in France and Germany and England and Italy, not a few old round-arched buildings which are completed in Gothic, *e.g.*, the cathedral of Lérida and the abbey of Veruela.

During the first half of the thirteenth century French Gothic more and more prevailed, till it finally eliminated Romanesque features. This imported style is found mostly in Central and Northern Spain (the Castiles, Leon, and Catalonia). Fine examples of it are the earlier parts of the cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo, and Leon. The first architects of Burgos and of Toledo Cathedrals are said to have studied in Paris.

At Burgos the vista of the lofty and finely proportioned Gothic nave and aisles would be very impressive if it were not (as is so often the case in Spanish churches) blocked by the high enclosure of the choir—which is in the nave, and even to the west of the transepts. The central building is, as usual, surrounded by numerous chapels, some of great size. This cathedral was founded in 1221 by King Ferdinand the Saint and by Bishop Maurice, an Englishman. Its fine old stained-glass windows were ruined by an explosion in 1813. (See p. 297 and Fig. 240.)

At Toledo the old cathedral, after the recapture of the city by the Christians in 1085, was allowed to be retained by the Moslems as a mosque, but it was soon taken from them, and in 1227 King Ferdinand began its reconstruction, which was not finished till 1493. The exterior is very fine, with its great (though unfinished) towers, its flying buttresses and eight magnificent portals and grand rose-windows. The interior—spoilt of course by the *coro*, which however is itself very splendid and contains about eighty-five richly carved walnut stalls—consists of nave and double aisles, the latter, as ambulatory, running round the great east-end apse and enclosing the *Capilla Mayor* (Greater Chapel), which occupies the usual site of the choir, or presbytery, in Northern churches. The lateral and apsidal chapels number thirty-six. The amount of treasures in this cathedral—monuments and retablos and paintings and statues and rich ornamentation—is prodigious, but there is, as elsewhere in Spain, little that has much artistic value. (See Fig. 239.)

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(f) Before this mixture of Romanesque and French 'lancet' Gothic had time to develop a national type of architecture it was supplanted (as had been the 'Pointed Romanesque') by a new foreign product. Hitherto it had assimilated some of the simpler and stronger elements of early Northern Gothic. Now it was eliminated by the new *rayonnant* style, which began at once to luxuriate and became enriched by grafts of Oriental (Byzantine and Arab) fancy, which during many centuries had acclimatized itself in Spain.

Leon Cathedral offers the earliest fine example of this newly imported 'decorated' style. Its reconstruction as a Gothic edifice began in 1250, and its plan (says Street) was most evidently borrowed from the cathedral of Amiens, or Reims (*c.* 1230), the great windows, the radiating apsidal chapels, and the *rayonnant* window-tracery of which it imitates.¹ The *coro* and Capilla Mayor contain the usual carved stalls and other rich decorations, and serve the usual purpose of spoiling the general view of the interior.

Another fine example of imported *rayonnant* Gothic is the cathedral at Barcelona. It was begun in 1298 on the site of an older cathedral that had in 1058 succeeded a Moorish mosque, which had been built over a Roman temple. Though of no great size it is impressive, and would be far more so but for the *coro*, which, as usual, spoils the view, while the Capilla Mayor with its Late Gothic retablo blocks the apse and its radiating chapels. The windows are small. The lower are broadly lancet-shaped; those of the clerestory have *rayonnant* traceries. They are filled with exceedingly fine old stained glass, which produces striking and brilliant effects when viewed from within the very sparsely lighted building, 'the dark stone of which the church is built increasing not a little the sombre magnificence of the scene' (Street). An interesting event connected with Barcelona Cathedral is the famous assembly held there in 1519 by the

¹ It has 230 traceried windows, some of them 40 feet high. It is smaller than the Burgos and Toledo Cathedrals, but as an example of the 'triumph of the void' perhaps excels them in interest. Its extraordinary grace and lightness, and the seemingly 'reckless and hazardous' way in which it poises aloft great masses on comparatively weak supports, caused (says Baedeker) some of the aisle arches to be built up in dread of a collapse—but the additional supports have been removed.



237. COLOGNE CATHEDRAL
Photo N. P. G.



238. TARRAGONA CATHEDRAL
The cloisters. See p. 294
Photo Laurent

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Emperor Charles V for the installation of the Knights of the new Order of the Golden Fleece. The cloisters, dating from 1440-48, are vast, as often in Spain, and are a very beautiful example of later Spanish-French Gothic. Another fine specimen of this style is the Barcelona church S. Maria del Mar. At Avila, on the north slopes of the Sierra de Guadarrama, is a grand, though not very great, cathedral, the east end of which shows massive Romanesque architecture and the rest of it very beautiful Gothic, the double ambulatory, as at Toledo, being especially noticeable.

(g) In the fifteenth century the *flamboyant* Gothic of Northern France was at its meridian height. Its influence extended itself during this century to other countries, especially to Belgium and Spain.¹ In Spain the extravagances of this decorative architecture found congenial soil and flourished luxuriantly, persisting for many years after the new classical style of the Renaissance had exterminated Gothic in other countries. The two Spanish cathedrals that offer the best examples of fifteenth-century Gothic, resembling the French *flamboyant*, are those of Burgos and Seville.

Burgos Cathedral, founded, as we have seen, in 1221, was not completed for some three hundred years, and consequently shows great variety of style. To the *flamboyant* period belong the two great spires of the façade-towers and many other aggressively crocketed pinnacles, the work (1442-58) of a German architect, John of Cologne, who was evidently, as Street remarks, not familiar with the best French Gothic.² These florid *flamboyant* additions with their 'enormous crockets, projecting two feet from the angle of the spires,' do their best to ruin the beauty of the original thirteenth-century façade, which, when devoid of all these excrescences, must have rivalled that of Amiens and other noble façades of Northern France.

¹ In England the exaggerated Decorated, which had helped to originate French *flamboyant*, was now, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, giving way to the more self-restrained and genuinely English Perpendicular, as seen in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster.

² Street well notes the ugliness of the summits of the spires, ringed with a gallery and 'terminated with the clumsiest of finials.' Mr O'Shea in *Spain and Portugal*, however, calls them 'admirable examples of Gothic in its purest and richest forms'!

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Two characteristic specimens of the admixture of Late Gothic with the so-called *plateresque* (rich ornamentation of the later Renaissance) are afforded by the façades of S. Pablo and S. Gregorio at Valladolid. The contrast between the two styles is very striking, the *farrago* of beautifully carved armorial bearings and angels and arches of all shapes, etc., exciting at the same time both admiration and repulsion.

Seville Cathedral—the area of which is said to surpass that of every other church except St Peter's—was founded (on the site of a mosque whose minaret it has retained as a bell-tower) in 1402. It therefore belongs mostly to the period now under consideration; but, although the main building was practically finished in 1506, there is much that connects it with the sixteenth century. I shall therefore reserve it to be treated, in the second volume, with such cathedrals as those of Salamanca and Segovia.

Portugal, after being wrested from the Moors by Alfonso VI, was given over by him as a fief to a Count of Burgundy and became a kingdom independent of Leon *c.* 1140; but it had to struggle for its independence against Castile, until John I, who married Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, won the great battle near Batalha (1385). Of Portuguese architecture four remarkable specimens should be noted, viz., the Cistercian convent and church of Alcobaça, the Dominican convent and church of Batalha, the Templars' Convent of the Order of Christ at Thomar (all three some fifty or sixty miles north of Lisbon), and the Hieronymite convent of Belém (Bethlehem), a suburb of Lisbon.

The Alcobaça convent (secularized since 1834), together with its great, gloomy Gothic church and its five cloisters, forms a vast mass of building, perhaps the vastest of all Christian monastic edifices. The church, in which, they say, mass was continuously celebrated, day and night, by some of the nine hundred monks, has a wide and lofty central and two very small lateral naves, after the fashion of some other Spanish and some Anjou churches; it has the semi-circular apse, radiating chapels, and beautiful *rayonnant* and rose-windows of French Gothic, and a rococo façade. It possesses numerous tombs of Portuguese kings, queens, and princes—among them those of King Pedro and the

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239. TOLEDO CATHEDRAL

See p. 295
Photo Anderson



240. BURGOS CATHEDRAL

See pp. 295 and 297

Photo Laurent

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'fair Spaniard,' Ignez de Castro, whose romantic story and tragic death (1355) form one of the most famous traditions of Portugal.

The magnificent pile of the Batalha convent was founded by Dominicans commissioned by King John I after his great victory in 1385. This king's marriage to an English princess and the famous Treaty of Windsor that allied him to England account for the fact that English architects and masons, as is evident from the architecture, were largely employed, and may account for the name Batalha, in which some recognize the words 'Battle Abbey.' The 'Founder's Chapel' contains a fine monument with effigies of King John and Philippa of Lancaster. An unfinished octagonal mausoleum (*Capella Imperfeita*), begun in 1435 by King Edward of Portugal, is a specimen of richly luxuriant Portuguese Gothic of the *flamboyant* era. The whole of the vast monastery and its church have suffered greatly from earthquakes, as well as from French vandalism, but all (except the *Capella Imperfeita*) has been fully restored and forms one of the most impressive buildings in Europe.

At Thomar the Knights Templars, about 1160, founded a church and a castle, as a *point d'appui* against the Moors. When the Order was suppressed in 1314 the buildings were given over to the 'Knights of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The Templar church (of c. 1160) is said to be a copy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Subsequent buildings (numerous cloisters, a new church for the 'Knights of Christ,' erected in the so-called 'Manoel' style¹ by King Emmanuel I, additions to the monastery, etc.) show all the chief kinds of Portuguese architecture down to the seventeenth century.

The fourth example of Portuguese architecture belongs really to the sixteenth century, but can be noted here. At Belém, close to Lisbon, there is a striking group of buildings overlooking the broad outlet of the Tagus—the Mosteiro dos Jeronymos (monastery of the monks of St Jerome), founded, in fulfilment of a vow, by King Emmanuel I in 1499, on the return of Vasco da Gama.

¹ This rich mixed style (Late Gothic and Renaissance) is called *arte Manoelina*, after King Emmanuel I. It shows sometimes an almost Oriental (Moorish) wealth of fancy.

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The convent was built on the site of the Seamen's Home in which the discoverer of the Cape route spent the night before his famous voyage. The convent church—the burial-place of King Emmanuel and his descendants—was begun at a date (1500) when Gothic in Spain and Portugal was still existent but was soon to be overwhelmed by a deluge of late Renaissance extravagances. It shows a great profusion of sculpture and of what Mr O'Shea calls 'gorgeous detailing and decorative *modistry*.' The nave and transept are interiorly of rich, late French *flamboyant* style. The south façade with its very richly sculptured portal (the work of 'Master Nicholas, the Frenchman') is a splendid specimen of the mixture of Late Gothic and Renaissance styles. The cloisters, of Late Gothic style, have ornate and beautiful traceries.

* * * * *

Spanish sculpture is a subject which, if one were to attempt to describe, or even to note, a tenth of the innumerable images and other carvings (in stone and wood) passably good as decorations of retablos and façades and portals and tombs and choir-stalls, etc., would require very considerable space. But it may be dismissed in a few words if we limit ourselves to what has some artistic affinity to the best sculpture of Greece, Rome, Italy, or France. Until the influence of French and Italian sculpture (especially that of the Quattrocento, and that of Michelangelo) reached Spain apparently little attempt was made there to produce anything of the nature of a true statue—such a genuine statue as Donatello's *David*. In the present volume, therefore, there is scarcely anything to be said about Spanish statues and other carvings viewed as independent works of art, and the following note of certain varieties of architectural and monumental carvings will suffice.

(a) Of Roman, early Christian, and Visigoth sculpture the only relics are about half a dozen sarcophagi and a few fragments, and of the era succeeding the Moorish conquest (say, 735–1000) scarce a trace of any carving remains—a fact partly explained by the veto placed by the Mohammedan religion on figure-sculpture.

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(b) Even during the next two centuries (1000-1200) native Spanish sculptors seem to have produced little but rather primitive stone-carvings. These much resemble those of early Lombard, Burgundian, and German Romanesque, showing dwarfed or clumsy human figures, conventional foliage, beasts, monsters, etc., with attempted representation of Biblical events. Tarragona Cathedral affords good examples of such carvings. There is indeed some remarkable sculpture in Spain that dates from this era. This is, however, exclusively the work of French and Italian artists. A notable example is the Puerta (or rather Portico) de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela, which, as has already been noted under the head of Architecture, is attributed to a foreign master-builder and sculptor named Matheus. (See p. 293 *n.*)

(c) The great school of Gothic sculpture that arose in the north of France early in the thirteenth century ere long extended its influence to Spain, where the new style established itself side by side with Romanesque. French sculptures (especially the Madonna statues for which, as we have seen, the French school was so celebrated) were introduced, and French Gothic sculptors produced in Spain works of striking beauty, such as may be seen in the portals, cloisters, and retablos of various northern and western Spanish churches (*e.g.*, at Burgos, Leon, and Valencia). The influence of this French Gothic sculpture gradually spread through all Spain and Portugal, and in the course of the fourteenth century the first signs appeared of a real *ars statuaria*, namely, some really fine monumental effigies. These were at first (as is usual) of a typical character; portrait statues were not attempted until the next century.

(d) During the fifteenth century we note two other foreign influences at work. The Mediterranean regions of the peninsula especially, as was natural, were affected by the remarkable revival of sculpture in Italy which was initiated (*c.* 1260) by Niccolò and carried on by Giovanni and Andrea of Pisa, and by Giotto and Della Quercia and Ghiberti (*d.* 1455). Attempts to attain classic beauty of form are perceptible, and the styles of the Pisani and of Ghiberti are at times distinctly imitated, *e.g.*, in the alabaster panels of the *trascoro* (the back of the choir-

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enclosure) at Valencia. Other work of this character is to be seen in the retablo of Tarragona Cathedral and that of the Seo (= *Sedes* or Cathedral) of Saragossa.

The second foreign influence was that of the Netherlands and lowland Germany, which naturally is in evidence mostly in the northern and central regions. Here we find no striving after beauty of form, but considerable vigour and richness of ornamentation. A very fine specimen of such work—one of many—is the Puerta de los Leones (the Gate of Lions), one of the portals of Toledo Cathedral, so called from the sculptured lions that hold upright armorial scutcheons. This portal was built, in Late Gothic style, by a Fleming, Egas by name, and was ornamented with sculptures by Juan Fernandez Aleman, evidently a German.

(e) Toward the end of the fifteenth century (from *c.* 1485 onward and especially after the fall of Granada in 1492) works by Italian sculptors were introduced into Spain,¹ and many more in the Quattrocento (early and middle Renaissance) style were produced in Spain by Italian artists or by Spaniards who had studied in Italy. As an effect of these influences exercised by Italy, a love arose for rich and delicately executed surface-carving, which gave to the fashionable style of architecture and of sculpture at this epoch the epithet *plateresco* (*i.e.*, like engraved silver). This epithet was extended not only to richly decorated retables and monuments (of which the number became legion) but even to façades, when profusely ornamented with statues and other carvings, such as the famous façades of S. Pablo and S. Gregorio at Valladolid, which we have already noted as examples of an extravagantly rich mixture of *flamboyant* Gothic and *plateresque*. The *plateresque* adornments and the sculptured effigies of the monumental works of this period are sometimes very impressive, and very interesting on account of the portrait statues which had now come into vogue. Perhaps the finest of such monuments is that of Ferdinand the Catholic (*d.* 1516), who, together with Isabella and Philip II, lies buried in the Capilla de los Reyes

¹ These works, we are told, are not numerous—indeed I find only one specified, *i.e.*, a relief of the Madonna in the style of Donatello, various copies of which seem to exist in Spain.

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of the Granada Cathedral. It was wrought by some Italian sculptor, some say by Filippo Vignarni of Genoa (*d.* 1543), others say by Domenico Fancelli of Florence (*d.* 1518), who also made the splendid tomb at Avila of the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, Prince John, who died in 1497. These monuments, and some others, reckoned among the works of Spanish sculpture but wrought by Italians, make one feel, though one may not be able to describe, the difference between a true work of art and those innumerable images and other sculptured decorations that are to be found in such endless quantities in the churches of Spain.

Spanish wood-carvings should be noticed, for although also here there seems to be little or nothing of high artistic value, the amount of richly carved woodwork in Spain is very large, and the general effect produced by it is sometimes one of great magnificence. The finest examples are afforded by the choir-stalls of various cathedrals. Of these the *sillería* of Toledo Cathedral is perhaps the most splendid. There are two rows of stalls, which number altogether 120 and are adorned with florid Gothic traceries and carvings, intarsia-work, figures, and medallions. Some of the earliest of these carvings (*c.* 1495) represent scenes from the lately accomplished conquest of Granada. Most of the later are by the above-mentioned Italian artist Filippo Vignarni and by the famous Alonso Berruguete (1480-1561), whom we shall meet later, when we arrive at the Cinquecento, as the maker of the fine *sillería* of S. Benito, now in the Museum of Valladolid.

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Spanish painting of the days of Murillo and Velasquez is of so great importance that it will be advisable to reserve notice of the comparatively obscure painters of earlier times until they can be treated in connexion with the great masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

CHAPTER II

NORTHERN GOTHIC SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

(a) Northern Gothic Sculpture

WHEN Gothic architecture arrived painting, mosaic, and, for a time, also sculpture found themselves in difficulties. They were bound to the Church, and she now deserted her allies, allowing them at first but few opportunities that did not necessitate distortion or curtailment or other violation of the rights of artistic design. Until toward the end of the 'lancet' period (say, until the accession of Louis IX) very little of artistic value was produced by French Gothic sculpture.¹ By this time, however, a good deal of statuary and relief had been used for external decoration, especially for the decoration of the great portals of Gothic cathedrals, and ere long the sculptors began to find very full employment in producing not only reliefs for tympana and lunettes and architraves but also innumerable statues and statuettes adapted for niches and gables and spandrels and pinnacles and those 'galleries' of kings and saints which formed a striking feature in cathedral façades, and for those wondrous and somewhat absurd alignments of figures, one above the other, upright or semi-recumbent, that sometimes adorn the arches of Gothic porches.²

As in Romanesque, the portals often show reliefs of the Last Judgment; but the attempt to terrorize and edify by grotesque horrors (such as one has in frescos of the *giotteschi*)

¹ Romanesque sculpture had begun before the advent of Gothic to produce fine work, decorative and other, and in some of the early Gothic cathedrals specimens of such work are to be seen, *e.g.*, in Chartres Cathedral, which, by the way, possesses over eighteen hundred statues on its exterior. They are, however, mostly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

² An arrangement recalling that of the infernal fiery shaft into which Dante packs Boniface VIII and other popes.

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is somewhat modified by an evident desire to emphasize the majesty of divine justice in the person of Christ as supreme Judge. The right-hand portal is generally devoted to the subject of the Virgin and the third to patron saints.

It is most interesting to compare this new Northern sculpture with that which rather later so suddenly arose in Italy, after Niccolò Pisano had carved his famous pulpit (c. 1260). Something at least may be allowed in favour of the assertion that the French sculptor showed more creative genius, seeing that he had no such models as those found by Niccolò at Pisa. However that may be, it is undeniable that from about the middle of the thirteenth century French Gothic sculpture moved gradually but continuously onward, away from such things as are suggested by the words 'medievalism,' 'monasticism,' and 'mysticism,' and from such enthusiasms as those that actuated the early Crusaders,¹ toward the expression of ideals not unlike those that inspired the best Greek art. Indeed, the dignity, self-restraint, serenity, and sense of beauty shown by some of the following statues are astonishingly Greek, although, except in rare cases, there evidently was no direct imitation, and perhaps no knowledge, of classical models.

The region in which this sculpture was evolved was that in which the French Gothic architecture began, namely that 'Isle of France' of which Paris, Amiens, Reims, and Chartres are the chief cities. The earliest preheraldings of the advent of the new sculpture made themselves perceptible as early as the middle of the twelfth century. Up to this time, with some notable exceptions, in this part of the world the plastic art had been almost wholly in the hands of the Benedictine monks, and, as M. Hourticq says, all they did was to give a certain degree of relief to the designs of those Benedictine painters who were subservient to the rigid rules and methods of Byzantine tradition.

Early specimens of the new Gothic sculpture, in which figures begin to detach themselves from their backgrounds

¹ The essential difference in motive and character between the expeditions of 'Saint' Louis (called the Sixth and Seventh Crusades) and the gigantic and disastrous 'Holy War' incited by the fanaticism of Peter the Hermit is apparent.

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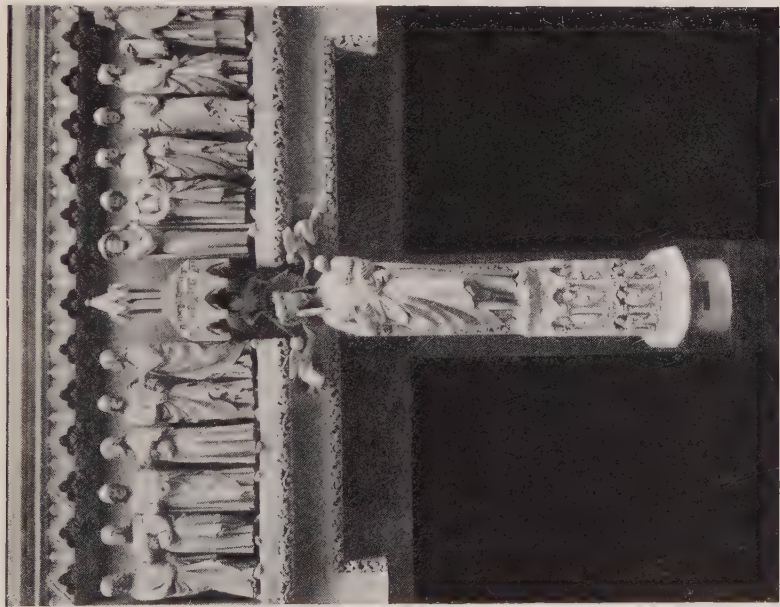
and to become, not, of course, real statues,¹ but something more than mere architectural decorations, are to be seen at Bourges, Le Mans, Corbeil, and other places, and especially at Chartres. Such sculptures, like those of early Greek art, are still immobile, with arms attached to the sides of the body and stiff legs, and possess a pillar-like length and rigidity² and that 'frontality' (facing straight forward) which characterizes also ancient Egyptian statues; and the stereotyped grin of ancient Greek art finds its counterpart in a smile of religious ecstasy.

But a great change was now to take place. The evolution was gradual, lasting about a century, and it is most interesting to trace it in the exceedingly numerous sculptures of the cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, Reims, and Paris. At first we find the long, stiffly upright, pillar-like figures already described; then figures of very considerable dignity and beauty, and artistically draped, but still affixed to shafts or used merely for decorative purposes in spandrels, niches, porches, and the 'galleries' of façades. At Chartres, for instance, in the portals of the cathedral we have several very noble figures, among which is one of St Theodore with lance and shield; and at Amiens, in the central portal, there is a gallery of Apostles, each on his pedestal and overhung by a stone canopy; and although their freedom of action is rather painfully limited by the narrow pedestal, they are no longer attached indissolubly to the building and seem to have an independent existence.

Then we note how faces and forms begin to become more mobile. Stiffness, 'frontality,' adherence of leg to leg and arms to flanks and beard to breast, and of body to pillar, tend to disappear, just as was the case in Greek sculpture when Daedalus (or whatever great artist or great influence the name of Daedalus represents) had made, it was said, the images of gods and men capable of leaping down and running away, instead of having to remain for eternity a part of some marble base or throne.

¹ At about the same epoch (c. 1150-90) we have in Southern France, e.g., at Saint-Trophime (Arles), exceedingly beautiful high reliefs of quite a different nature, inspired solely by ancient Roman art, as was Niccolò's Pisan pulpit a century later. (See Fig. 206.)

² For the evolution of the ancient Greek statue from the 'pillar' perhaps I may refer the reader to my *Ancient Greece*, p. 220 sq.



241. LA VIERGE DORÉE D'AMIENS
Photo Giraudon



242. LE BEAU DIEU D'AMIENS
Photo Giraudon



243. LA VISITATION
Thirteenth century
Reims Cathedral
Photo Giraudon

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An exceedingly noble specimen of the sculpture of this epoch (c. 1250) is a statue of Christ which adorns the west front of Amiens Cathedral and is known as *le beau Dieu d'Amiens*. In this statue the Saviour is no longer the austere and majestic Judge, such as He is represented on Romanesque tympana and elsewhere, surrounded by the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse or by the Evangelistic emblems. He stands alone in tranquil dignity, lifting His right hand in benediction and bearing on the left arm the volume of God's Word. His face is dignified but not stern; it is full of gentleness and love for His human brothers.

More frequent by far are single figures of the Virgin; and here the change of type is quite as striking. She is no longer represented as the Queen of Heaven, full of divine pity and regal dignity, but, as in the most ancient Catacomb paintings, she is the Mother, very human in her love for her Child and in the simple, unaffected gentleness and sympathy shown by her smiling face. In the so-called *porte dorée* of Amiens Cathedral (the right-hand façade portal) is perhaps the most beautiful of all such Gothic Madonnas. In attitude and expression this *Vierge dorée* is the prototype of countless Madonnas of later days.

A question of interest and of no little importance here presents itself—namely, whether this typical Gothic Madonna may not possibly owe its motive to the influence of Hellenic (or at least Hellenistic) sculpture,¹ much as was the case with the typical Buddha statue. Other reasons there certainly are for concluding that some of the Gothic sculptors were not so entirely unaffected by classical art as is often assumed. Surely no one who is at all familiar with the best Athenian sculpture can see Gothic statues, such as some in the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris, or the figures of the Virgin and St Elizabeth in the 'Visitation' group in the central porch of Reims Cathedral (Fig. 243), without feeling certain that the wonderful grace of attitude and beauty of form and feature and the exquisite drapery could not possibly have come into being without knowledge and imitation of Greek, or Roman-Greek, models.

¹ I.e., to the *Eirene* of Cephisodotus; for whom see *Ancient Greece*, p. 416.

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Moreover, there is very noticeable a device of later French Gothic sculptors which is practically identical with that attributed to Polycleitus and frequent in the works of later Greek artists—namely, the throwing of the weight of the body to a great extent on one leg by the advancement of the other, so that equilibrium is maintained by a certain change in the attitude of the body, and the sensation produced by the visible state of perfect and restful poise amidst counteracting forces is such as is always produced by the best sculpture.

Soon we begin to find these statues no longer standing singly, in a state of contemplation or religious ecstasy, but combined into groups and showing dramatic sympathy in some object of common interest. Such groups existed already in relief. Thus in the pointed tympanum of the left façade portal of Notre-Dame (Paris) is a Gothic high relief (Fig. 244), entirely different from any Romanesque sculpture, consisting of three stages: below are prophets and kings, above these is the scene of the Virgin being recalled to life by the Saviour, Who has descended from Heaven for this object, and above this again is a scene in Heaven, where she is seated by the side of Christ and is being crowned by an angel. The beauty of the conception and of many of the figures is so surprising that one certainly feels inclined to agree with those who call it 'the greatest masterpiece of Gothic statuary' (Hourticq). Another very beautiful vision is given us by three figures on pedestals that adorn the west front of Reims Cathedral—two angels, with outspread wings, almost like Grecian Victories, conducting S. Rémi. And still another is given by the two figures, also on pedestals, of the Virgin and the announcing angel, of which the former is exquisitely gracious and unaffected. At Reims are also some very noble angels that adorn the choir, and in the central porch is the celebrated group of the Visitation which I have already mentioned as showing indubitably Greek influences—influences that came from Italy, where the revival of sculpture had begun. Or if not, whence?

Lastly, in connexion with these groups, in high relief or formed of pedestalled and canopied figures, may be

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244. NOTRE-DAME, PARIS—NORTH PORCH OF FAÇADE

Apotheosis of the Virgin

Photo Alinari



245. THE 'WELL OF MOSES'

By Klaus Sluyter

Carthusian abbey of Champmol, near Dijon

Photo Giraudon

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mentioned some splendid tombs. Of these one of the earliest and finest is the tomb of King Dagobert, which was erected in the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis by Louis IX, about 1260. It is a very rich Gothic architectural structure, reminding one of Orcagna's famous Tabernacle at Florence, and is profusely adorned with high reliefs and with statues.

In the fourteenth century, the cathedrals and other churches beginning now to be fully stocked with carvings, the sculptors had to content themselves mainly with supplying magnificent tombs for kings or nobles or prelates, and votive statues for altars, etc.; and somewhat naturally they spent their superfluous energy in all kinds of exaggerations and mannerisms. The French school began to degenerate rapidly, but it fortunately found new blood by allying itself with the school of Flemish sculptors.¹

Then, from about 1380 onward until nigh the end of the fifteenth century, we have a Flemish-Burgundian school, of which apparently by far the best masters were a Dutchman, Nicholas (Klaus) Sluyter, and his nephew, Klaus de Werve. The chief works of these two sculptors were produced to adorn the great Carthusian abbey of Champmol, near Dijon, which Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, founded as the mausoleum of his family.² The monastery has been destroyed but many of the sculptures are extant. Of the tombs those of Philip the Bold himself and of John the Fearless (Jean sans Peur) are the most splendid. But the finest of these Dijon sculptures—by Sluyter and his nephew—is perhaps the so-called *Well of Moses*. It is a large pedestal formed by grouping round the wall of the monastery well the figures of Moses, David, and four prophets. Above these a large abacus made the group resemble the carvings of a great capital, which supported a Calvary. Of this Crucifixion scene nothing remains but the head of the Christ, which is said to be of great dignity.

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¹ *E.g.*, Jean Pépin de Huy (the native village of Peter the Hermit), Jean de Liège, Jean de Cambrai, and other such names, are recorded as the makers of various monuments in Saint-Denis.

² These Dukes of Burgundy were suzerains of much of Flanders, so that, as M. Hourticq well observes, the Flemish-Burgundian school was the 'result of a brilliant political phase.'

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German Gothic sculpture—with which we need not class the rude and grotesque carvings so common in parts of Germany—owed all its better qualities to French influence. Naturally, however, it developed some national traits, two of which are a vigorous, and frequently rather coarse, realism, and that heavy and graceless *Plumpheit* which has always characterized German art, plastic and pictorial. Specimens of this German Gothic sculpture are to be seen at Bamberg (statues in the cathedral porches and a rude equestrian statue that has been dubbed with the name of St Stephen of Hungary), Magdeburg (tympanum relief of the Assumption, statues of the wise and foolish virgins, and a fourteenth-century statue of the Emperor Otto I—who died in the year 973 !), Freiburg im Breisgau (statues and tympanum relief of the main portal of the cathedral), Strasbourg (numerous statues, including well-known figures of wise and foolish virgins, and numerous reliefs, most of them showing direct French influence, but a great deal of German *Plumpheit*), Cologne (statues of Apostles in the cathedral), and Nürnberg (sculptures in the porch of S. Lorenz and the ‘Beautiful Fountain’ (*der schöne Brunnen*), attributed to a ‘Master-sculptor Heinrich’).

* * * * *

The existence in early times of skilful and imaginative stone-carvers among the Celtic inhabitants of our islands has been touched upon in a former chapter (see Fig. 191). The beauty of their decorative work is unquestionable. Some of them seem to have had a genius for expression in line and what has been well called ‘the control of a pattern into unity,’ so that this Celtic carved tracery holds its own with the best Egyptian, Arab, or Roman, and almost holds its own with the best Greek decorative art. Then, after the Saxon conquest, as we have seen, there was in South England a school of sculpture that—though some call it ‘Saxon’—evidently derived inspiration and method, if not artists, from abroad, and also most evidently from sources that were strongly affected by Byzantine influences. Then came the English Norman era, which has left scarcely a trace of anything that can be called artistic sculpture—a fact certainly not due entirely

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to puritanical iconoclasm. Then English Gothic sculpture began (if we neglect mere decorative carvings) with the use of sculptured heads as corbels or for other similar purposes. There are extant thousands of such heads, many of them showing considerable vigour and refinement; but it was not until well after the middle of the thirteenth century that English sculptors began to attempt figures, and these figures were at first limited to corbels, bosses, reliefs for the spandrels between arches, and other such spaces where artistic design was cribbed and confined. Examples of such work may be seen in Chester Cathedral (a circular boss showing a relief of Virgin and Child that is either French work or inspired by French work); at Lincoln (where angels in high relief are most uncomfortably jammed into half-spandrels); at Salisbury (where Joseph and his brethren, Lot and his daughters, and other such groups appear in spandrels).

We now come to the puzzle of Wells Cathedral. Here 183 statues still remain of about 255 that were apparently carved (from the same 'Doulting' stone of which the cathedral mainly consists) about 1250—that is, some years after the edifice was completed. None of them shows any real artistic qualities, but they are fairly good specimens of architectural decorative sculpture. They differ considerably from other examples of English Gothic sculpture, such as those that have been mentioned, and differ also somewhat among themselves. There are only two explanations of these facts that seem possible. Either a special *atelier* of modellers and carvers, perhaps foreign as well as native, was formed for the purpose and made to work under control, or else the models for the statues were imported from some foreign *atelier*, where such things were for sale ready-made. The curious fact that some of them bear on their backs Arabic numerals seems to point to wholesale manufacture, unless it is to be explained by assuming that the figures were numbered at a later date when they may have been temporarily removed during the building of the towers.

Exeter Cathedral (Fig. 231) has 'galleries' of statues adorning its façade. These are of later date—perhaps a century later—and of a character quite different, not being merely architectural adjuncts, but showing some sort of artistic

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independence. Here and there have been discovered statues (*e.g.*, a crowned Madonna in York Chapter-house and a figure in Henry V's chantry at Westminster) which would seem to indicate the presence in England during this Gothic era of really gifted sculptors; but these may have been imported, or made from the models of French artists, or by French artists—suppositions justified by the fact that there are no other traces of the existence in England during these centuries (say from 1250 to late in the sixteenth century) of any of the essentials of a real master-sculptor, everything except a few carefully executed faces being astonishingly crude. What little noticeable English sculpture exists is of later date and will be noted in my second volume.

There are, however, some impressive tombs, with recumbent portrait statues, that date from the English Gothic era. In regard to these tombs it is important to bear in mind the following facts. About the year 1175 quarries were opened on the 'Island' of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, which supplied a coloured limestone capable of high polish. This 'Purbeck marble,' as it was called, was for more than a century in great demand, and many fine monuments were carved from it, of which Westminster Abbey, the Temple Church, Peterborough Cathedral, etc., possess specimens, while Worcester Cathedral can show perhaps the finest of all, namely the tomb of King John. Now it is rather a puzzling and disconcerting fact—at least for some minds—that even the Greeks in the age of Pheidias, not content with what seems to us so perfect in the pure and gracious outlines of unadorned marble, not only should have decked out their sculptures with ornaments of gold and other metals, but should have used bright colours to stain the loveliness of their Attic and Parian stone—nay, should have, as it seems, preferred a chryselephantine to a marble statue.¹ In the case of the art-loving British public of the fourteenth century it appears considerably less surprising that it became dissatisfied with the unadorned 'Purbeck marble,' which had been in fashion for more than a century, and demanded

¹ The difficulty of making a huge statue of solid stone, if it is to be a real statue, such as the *Athene* of Pheidias, and not a mere Colossus of Thebes, offers some explanation, but these statues of ivory and gold with a wooden core were not always of very great size.

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that it should be overlaid ever more and more with gilt and paint. The result of this was that as this stone was expensive and was now used merely as the inner core of the figure it was superseded by cheap freestone or wood.

Such models in freestone and wood, often of a rude and stereotyped character, were manufactured wholesale, especially by London 'imagers.' Little wonder that the completed portrait statue was, as regards conception, form, drapery, and all that goes to the making of fine sculpture, rather on a level artistically with ancient Etruscan sarcophagi than with the beautiful monuments which the Cosmati at Rome and many a sculptor at Florence and Venice produced during the centuries over which English Gothic architecture extended.

Numerous freestone and wooden recumbent statues, dating mostly from the fourteenth century, exist. One of the finest is the wooden effigy of Archbishop Peckham, in Canterbury Cathedral. In Westminster Abbey there is 'the rude core of what was once, probably,' says Sir Walter Armstrong, 'a magnificent effigy of Henry V.'

From the fifteenth century onward until and beyond the end of the Perpendicular Gothic period the vogue was for tomb-statues made of English alabaster, great deposits of which were discovered in the Midlands. Of such monuments more than five hundred exist. The comparative ease with which the material was procured and worked made the profession of an 'alabaster,' as an alabaster-carver was called, not a school for the training of great artists. Tomb-figure production became a mechanical process, and with very few exceptions (one of which is the recumbent figure of John of Eltham in Westminster Abbey, and another the statue of Edward II at Gloucester) no sculpture of any artistic value has come down to us from the last century and a half of the English Gothic era.

(b) Northern Gothic Painting

Gothic architecture was, as has been explained, unfavourable to mural painting and to mosaic, presenting narrow spaces which prevented the free treatment of figures needing

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breadth, such as, for instance, an angel with expanded wings, or a procession, or even a group. Fresco decoration consequently became less and less used in connexion with ecclesiastical architecture. In Flanders and in Germany painting soon found other activities. Not only were great numbers of illuminated books produced, but artists, now usually laymen, began to practise the old classic panel-painting, using the *tempera* method which had been handed down from the later Alexandrian school by Byzantine art. At first they produced altar-pieces and other 'sacred' pictures; but little by little they liberated themselves from monastic vassalage, until, ere very long—in the days of Jan van Eyck—Flemish painting began to assert that liberty which later it claimed so audaciously, and to turn to nature and to ordinary human life and to portraiture, much as at about the same time Italian Quattrocento art was, somewhat timidly, doing.

In France things took a different turn. The rise of the new architecture was contemporary with that of national ideals and national consciousness. The building of churches was no longer due solely to the zeal of the clerics. Communes vied in the erection of splendid buildings—cathedrals and, later, civic palaces—for the adornment of which, seeing that fresco and mosaic were no longer suitable, public enthusiasm favoured and developed another pictorial method, hitherto but rarely practised, viz., that of using the numerous and often vast windows of great edifices as rich-coloured transparencies; and the popularity of this method seems to have extinguished for a time in France the art of painting—except that of miniature, which throughout Christendom had always proved itself to be of persistent vitality.¹

¹ French *enlumineurs* of the Gothic era show an amazing dexterity in producing brilliant effects, almost like those of the most splendid Gothic stained glass. Among these illuminators was Jean Fouquet (1415–85), whose portrait of Charles VII and other panel-paintings are among the very rare French pictures of this age. He was for some time in Italy and came under the influence of Melozzo and doubtless of Florentine painters. Besides decorative work (now restored) in La Sainte-Chapelle, almost the only French fresco of this era is that of some rather ungainly prophets in the cathedral of Cahors, and possibly some mural paintings lately brought to light in the Palais des Papes at Avignon, perhaps work of Simone Martini, the Sienese painter admired by Petrarca. (See Vol. II, Part IV, of this book, and *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 162.)

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The stained-glass windows of Romanesque churches have been already noted. Those of earlier Gothic were similar in technique. Pieces of glass of a small size, cut and coloured suitably, were attached by leaden bands which formed the outlines of figures, the whole being firmly held together by iron framework. This method gradually gave place to the use of large pieces, on which portions of the design were traced. The general design and the outlines of figures had become much improved, and in France during the Gothic era great skill was attained, not only in producing splendid kaleidoscopic effects, such as are to be seen in La Sainte-Chapelle, but in artistic grouping and massing of colours, which are often of marvellous beauty. Fine examples exist in the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and in the cathedrals of Notre-Dame (Paris), Poitiers, Bourges, Rouen, Tours. Chartres Cathedral has about two hundred stained-glass windows, some of great size, mostly dating from the Gothic era.

In England there are no evidences of stained glass before about 1180 (*i.e.*, the beginning of English Gothic), except a few fragments which may be of Byzantine origin. During the thirteenth century fine glass was produced, of which specimens exist in the cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Salisbury, and elsewhere. In the fourteenth century the English Decorated Gothic glass¹ rivalled in design and colour, and perhaps outrivalled in quantity, that produced in France; and English Perpendicular Gothic—from about 1380 to 1530—can show an immense amount, some of considerable beauty—although much of it is mere blazonry, or a ‘translucent picture,’ as Sir W. Armstrong calls it, of architectural splendour, such as Gothic façades and screens.²

Having glanced at the main pictorial activities of France and England during the Gothic era, we must now turn back to 1300 and note the state of things in Flanders and Germany, where, as also in Italy, the advent of the great era of European painting was soon to be distinctly heralded.

¹ *E.g.*, that in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford, and in various cathedrals.

² Fine Perpendicular glass is found at York, Winchester, New College (Oxford), Windsor, and in countless other churches. The splendid windows of King's College Chapel (Cambridge) are of English make but probably of Flemish design.

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During the fourteenth century, or even earlier, were erected, or begun, in Flanders and Germany many beautiful Gothic cathedrals, such as those of Antwerp, Brussels, Tournai, Strasbourg, Freiburg im Breisgau, and Cologne; and somewhat later arose the wonderful communal buildings, the trade warehouses and town halls, of Flanders. The architectural sculpture too of these countries was at no mean stage of development. It is therefore not surprising that the pictorial adornment of such architecture should have been zealously practised; and as this zeal did not expend itself, as it did in France and England, in the splendours of stained glass,¹ it somewhat naturally adopted the method of painting great and magnificent altar-pieces and other such pictures—a method that in Italy was already rapidly superseding that of mosaic decoration.²

Whether or not the first impulse came from Italy, it was Flanders that first of Northern countries set seriously to work at painting pictures. By serving as an emporium for trade with the East, and by commerce on land and by sea, it had become exceedingly wealthy and had established friendly relations with many countries, by some of which it was strongly influenced in matters of art, while to others it transmitted such influences. Until about 1350—that is, some thirteen years after the death of Giotto—there was in Flanders and Germany no sign of that sudden appearance and blooming of pictorial art, the origin of which is so difficult to account for, unless we regard it as a case of spontaneous generation, or unless we believe the seed to have been wafted northward from Tuscany.

However that may be, we find it asserted that the century 1250–1350 in these countries was a kind of Dark Age as regards painting—a period, as Crowe says, of mere ‘illumination of outline,’ when even miniature was at a low ebb, having exchanged to a great extent the gold and rich colouring of Byzantine models for something similar to a rudely

¹ Except some ugly windows in Augsburg Cathedral attributed (probably wrongly) to the eleventh century, there is no glass of much interest in Germany earlier than the fourteenth, and comparatively little of later date, while the modern products of Munich, etc., are of but little artistic value.

² Cimabue, and probably Giotto, produced fine mosaics (*e.g.*, the splendid Pisan apse mosaic and the *Navicella*), so that they belonged, no less than Torriti himself, to the old order, besides being originators of the new.

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tinted pen-drawing. Crude colours (vermilion and blue especially), black outlines, brick-red faces, grinning and vulgar expression, coarse or grotesque features—such are the words with which one finds described the pictorial efforts of native Northern Gothic art before the wonderful and seemingly inexplicable change which took place in Flanders about the middle of the fourteenth century.¹

As heralding this spring-time are to be noted a tendency in miniature toward more pleasing and harmonious colours (though vermilion and blue are still too dominant) and backgrounds no longer of gold but showing hills and trees and buildings and even blue sky, while the figures begin to have softer outlines, drawn with the brush, and the faces become more oval and more delicately featured and coloured. These tendencies may have been due to influences which, traceable perhaps to Italy as their original source, are discernible in two interesting phenomena. One of these is the presence in Cologne and its vicinity of some artist whose panel-paintings and those of his scholars, although old-fashioned in style, give evidence of quite a new inspiration. The ancient *Chronicle of Limburg* (1380) mentions 'a painter of Cologne named Wilhelm, the best of all the German land, able to paint every man as if alive.' This Wilhelm of Cologne has been identified, not very successfully, with a painter named Wilhelm Herle, and pictures discovered in and near Cologne have been attributed to him; but there is no proof that he painted any single one of them. It is, however, quite possible that some of the very numerous, and sometimes admirable, pictures of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Flight, etc., which are to be found, labelled with his name, in German museums and in a chapel of Cologne Cathedral may be by him or by some scholars of his.²

¹ As exceptions may be noted a mural painting of the Crucifixion (with gold ground) in Bruges Cathedral and some colossal figures in the old Ghent Hospital (the Saviour blessing the Virgin) and some frescos (Biblical subjects, Bishop Silvester, etc.) in Cologne Cathedral, all of c. 1300. Here the drawing is much better than the very rude colouring, as it is in the illuminated MSS. of the period, e.g., two MSS. of Troubadour poetry (Stuttgart and Paris), which have some exceedingly graceful designs.

² Herle died in 1378; but it seems evident that some of the best pictures attributed to 'Wilhelm of Cologne' point to some good artist living at or near Cologne thirty or forty years later (c. 1420). The date of Wilhelm von Cöln is generally given as 1320-72.

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The second phenomenon is the really striking development of pictorial art that took place in Bohemia during the reign (1348-78) of that 'Holy Roman Emperor,' Charles IV, with whom the fugitive 'Last of the Tribunes' (Cola di Rienzo) took refuge, and whom Petrarca persuaded to build the famous University of Prag. Although the *Römerzug* undertaken by Charles in order to be crowned Emperor at Rome proved a painful fiasco, he loved Italian art, and doubtless Italian artists were welcomed at his court at Prag. Here and in the chapel of his castle, Carlstein, he had many frescos and panel pictures painted, which, though much ruined by the ravages of time and restoration, testify still to advanced technical skill and high artistic qualities, the depicted Saints and Fathers, and other such venerable personages, being not only of dignified attitude and gracious expression, but intimating movement in a way hitherto almost unknown to post-classical art. In spite of the prevalence of Bohemian types of physiognomy (such as big ugly noses and staring eyes) there is a refinement of taste perceptible which makes one suspect very strongly the direct influence of that early Tuscan school which produced not only Giotto and the *giotteschi* but Duccio and the Sienese pre-Renaissance painters. And the Italian origin of this early Bohemian school of painting is apparently proved by the fact that in the castle itself there are fine frescos, showing real artistic imagination (scenes from the Apocalypse and many New Testament subjects, as well as portraits), which are the work of a certain Tommaso da Modena—helped perhaps by Bohemian or Teutonic artists, among whom one hears of a Theoderic of Prag and a Wurmser of Strasbourg.

We have now arrived at the epoch—toward the end of the fourteenth century—when, after more or less faint preheraldings, the spring-time of modern European pictorial art was really to begin, somewhat later in Northern climes than it had begun in Italy.

The artists that I shall choose as representative are the van Eycks, van der Weyden, and Memling.

Hubert van Eyck (c. 1366-1426) settled in Ghent (Gand) about the year 1410. Here he executed important works



246. THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB
By Hubert and Jan van Eyck
Glent

—1881—



247. THE ENTOMBMENT

By Roger van der Weyden

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Brogi

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for the municipality, and it was for the burgomaster that he undertook and partly painted (only partly, for he died before it was complete) the great folding altar-piece, consisting of twenty panels adorned with nearly three hundred figures, which was finished by his younger brother, Jan van Eyck, and is named *The Adoration of the Lamb*, after the subject of the large lower central panel (Fig. 246). If, as is likely, the very dignified (almost Pheidian) figure of the enthroned Deity and the impressive figures of Christ and His Mother on the higher central panels are by Hubert, they prove that in conception and design he was a greater artist than his better-known younger brother. The probability that he received inspiration from Italy, and even that he had studied in Florence, seems considerable, not only from his great skill in composition and in drapery, but from the striking similarity of some of his figures and groups to those of the founder of the new school of design in Italy, the young Masaccio, to whose Adam and Eve the Adam and Eve on the right and left top panels of the *Adoration of the Lamb* have an undeniable resemblance.¹

But the most striking and most novel feature of this great picture of the van Eycks was its wonderful beauty in colour. This was due to a new method of using oil, invented by the brothers Hubert and Jan. Oil was being used already in Italy as a medium, but only tentatively—in combination with the *tempera* method—and not very successfully.² The van Eycks seem to have invented a perfectly transparent varnish which allowed the oil to dry without causing any discoloration.

Jan van Eyck (c. 1380–1440) is perhaps inferior to his brother in dignity and his new-awakened sense of beauty in form and drapery. Indeed he goes back at times to old Byzantine types. But the genius with which he realized the possibilities of the new oil-painting puts him among

¹ Masaccio's frescos in the Carmine Church were studied and copied by many great painters—among them Raphael and Michelangelo.

² It was not till toward the end of the Quattrocento that it was successfully used by the Florentines. About 1473 it was introduced (from Flanders?) into Venice, perhaps, as Vasari asserts, by Antonello di Messina, and was used with brilliant success by the Bellini. By the way, Vasari knew nothing of Hubert van Eyck until Guicciardini supplied him with information, which appeared in the later edition of the *Lives of the Artists*.

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those who have initiated great eras. One of his earliest works is the *Consecration of Thomas à Becket*, which is at Chatsworth. Also in England is the picture of St Francis receiving the *stigmata* at La Verna. This work was probably painted in Portugal, whither in 1428, two years after his brother's death, he was sent by Philip the Good, on a political mission. He remained in Portugal for more than a year, during which he visited the Moorish king at Granada and doubtless devoted himself to the study and exercise of pictorial art. There is at Madrid a large altar-piece of Gothic character (the so-called *Fountain of Salvation*) which is attributed to him and has some resemblance to the *Adoration of the Lamb*, of which masterpiece of his brother he resumed the interrupted completion on his return to Bruges, where he had his studio. The *Adoration* was first exhibited, at Ghent, in 1432. There are numerous paintings by Jan van Eyck in galleries and elsewhere. In our National Gallery there are some fine portraits by his hand. A third brother, Lambert van Eyck, is accredited with an unfinished altar-piece and the copy of the *Adoration of the Lamb* that is in the Antwerp Museum. A sister, Margaret, is said also to have been a good artist.

'*Pour la date,*' says Peyre, in his *Histoire générale des Beaux-Arts*, '*Jean van Eyck est le premier des coloristes. Nul n'avait créé comme lui des types vivants où les yeux brillent, la bouche respire, le sang circule. Il est aussi, avant les Vénitiens, le créateur du paysage et de la perspective aérienne.*' Certainly in these respects he may be said to vie with the best of the early Italian *quattrocentisti*; nor is he excelled by any of them in wondrous perfection of detail. But whether he was capable of producing such work as, for instance, that of Masaccio in the Carmine Church or that of Fra Angelico in the Convent of S. Marco is certainly not proved by any of his extant paintings.

A contemporary (not a pupil, as once believed) of Jan van Eyck was Roger van der Weyden, a native of Tournai, who became very popular in Brussels¹ and for a time seems to have almost eclipsed the fame of the school of Ghent and

¹ Nothing seems to exist still in Brussels of the many paintings he produced for the newly built Hôtel de Ville. His tomb is in Sainte-Gudule.



248. FROM MEMLING'S RELIQUARY OF ST. URSULA
Left: Departure for Cologne



Right: Arrival at Cologne

Bruges
 N.P.G. Photos



249. ENTHRONED VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

By Memling. *Florence, Uffizi*

Photo Brogi

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Bruges, where the van Eycks, as is the way with great and original masters, were succeeded by no worthy followers. In spite of a visit to Florence and Rome (in 1449) van der Weyden evidently remained impervious to gracious influences. His somewhat Teutonic, self-sufficient, unreceptive, and laborious talent constructed pretentious works that have merely the accidental qualities of great art. He affected a severe style, but succeeded only in attaining what is heavy, ungainly, and commonplace. His draperies are more leaden than Giotto's, and his faces lack individual character and express no dramatic interest, and the whole composition generally resembles that of a group 'posed' by a photographer. He is said to have rejected as far as possible all shadow and aerial perspective. For instance, in the *Entombment* (Fig. 247) it requires an almost painful effort to focus the picture, the details of the far distance and of the foreground being treated with equal disregard of atmosphere and light.

Van der Weyden, however, claims our gratitude as the teacher of Hans Memling (c. 1435-95), an artist regarded by some as superior to every Italian painter before Leonardo da Vinci, whom he preceded by about fifteen years, while others insist that he is 'the Raphael of Flemish art.' However that may be, he certainly combined almost Leonardesque dignity and nobility with a very delicate and attractive beauty of form and expression—sometimes a sadness of expression rare in Flemish art. In luminous colour, atmosphere, chiaroscuro, and modelling, and still more in the vital requirements of composition, he was incomparably superior to his teacher. Many of his works exist—not a few in England. The following are perhaps his masterpieces :¹

(1) A vast altar-piece in three compartments, in the Frauenkirche at Danzig (whither it was taken by pirates who captured a ship of Bruges). The subject is the Last Judgment and the treatment is traditional—with the usual mixture of solemnity and grotesqueness—but the great figure of the archangel St Michael with his extended wings of peacock feathers is very

¹ A great altar-piece, at Paris, representing the Crucifixion with the old Louvre in the background, has been attributed to Memling by German critics, but happily for Memling's good name the attribution is generally rejected.

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impressive, and there is great dignity and much imagination in the figure of the Christ, enthroned as Judge on a rainbow, with the world as His footstool, and in the figure of St Peter welcoming the saved at the splendid Gothic portal of Heaven.

(2) *The Marriage of St Catharine*, a magnificent work, in the Hospital of St John at Bruges, highly finished and in good preservation (c. 1486). Behind the saintly group in the foreground is a fine portal and in the distance a beautiful landscape and scenes from the lives of the two St Johns—and the sea, reflecting the main features of the picture.

(3) The celebrated *Reliquary of St Ursula*—a shrine (about 4 feet × 2 feet) shaped like a Gothic church—also in the Hospital at Bruges—is covered exteriorly with small-sized but very striking representations of scenes from the pilgrimage and martyrdom of the Saint and her faithful maidens (Fig. 248).

(4) There is also a notable work of Memling's, an *Enthroned Virgin* with a very beautiful landscape background, in the Uffizi Gallery (Fig. 249).

Memling and also the van Eycks did some very fine miniature work. A part at least of the famous *Grimani Breviary* (containing the finest Flemish miniatures in existence, according to Morelli) is believed to be by Memling.¹

A German contemporary of the van Eycks was Stephan Lochner (or Lothner) of Constanz. He painted mostly at Cologne (c. 1430–50). One of his early works, *St Catharine with SS. Matthew and John*, is in our National Gallery. His masterpiece is in a chapel of Cologne Cathedral—a triptych that interiorly shows an *Adoration* and exteriorly an *Annunciation*, the figures in which, of the Virgin seated at a desk and of Gabriel with resplendent outspread wings, are of undeniable beauty and recall Fra Angelico and even Filippo Lippi, although the splendour of Lochner's gold backgrounds and his rich colouring and brilliant colours and minute detail offer no evidence of his having come under the influence that so strongly affected Angelico himself in his later days—namely, the influence of Masaccio, which initiated the new Italian school.

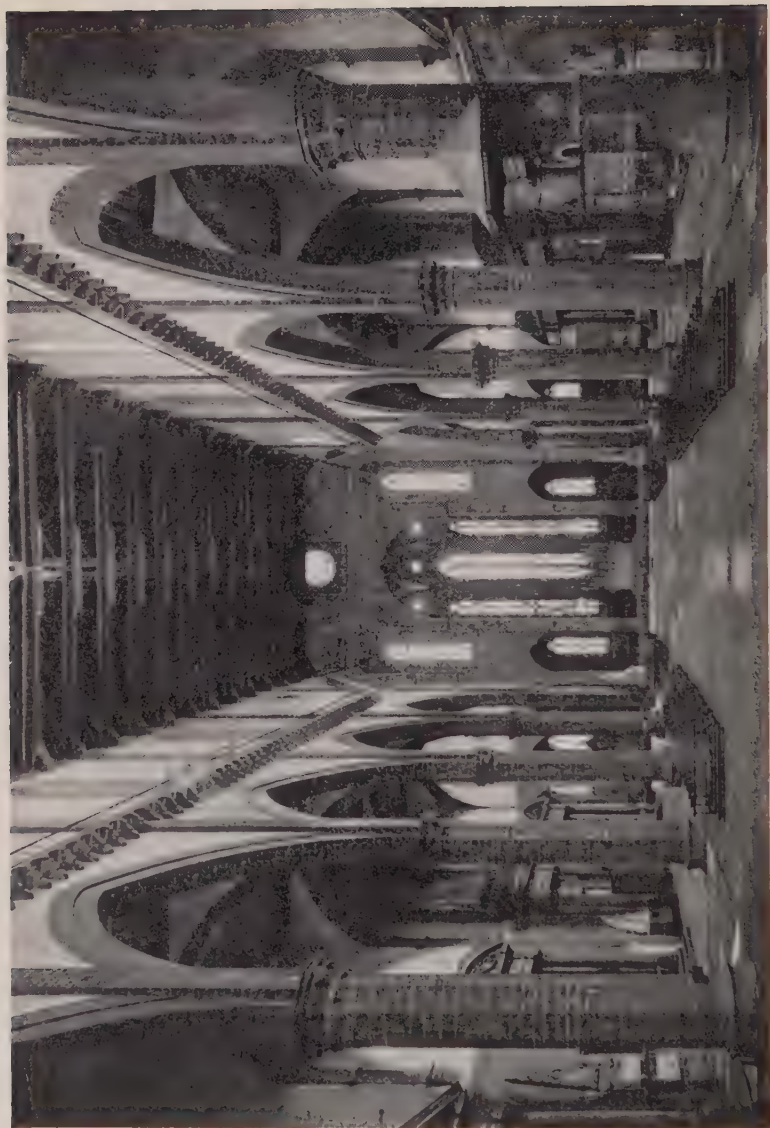
¹ A noticeable contemporary of Memling's was van der Goes, of Ghent, whose remarkable *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Fig. 250), painted for the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova (Florence), is in the Uffizi.



25C. ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

By van der Goes, *Florence, Uffizi*

Photo Brogi



251. S. CROCE, FLORENCE

Begun in 1294

Photo Alinari

CHAPTER III

ITALIAN GOTHIC AND THE TUSCAN REVIVAL

(a) Italian Gothic (down to c. 1300)

TRUE Italian Gothic was not fully developed until the latter part of the thirteenth century, but during the preceding sixty years or so Northern architects, or Italians who had studied Northern Gothic, had from time to time erected churches in this foreign style.¹ Then Cistercians (reformed Benedictines) built abbeys, such as those of S. Galgano near Siena and of Chiaravalle near Milan, in which the pointed arch and vaulting appears (c. 1220). At Vercelli the church of S. Andrea was, it is said, built (c. 1225) by an English architect, Brighintz by name.² It has flying buttresses and a dome and two western towers, like a Northern Gothic cathedral, and is a striking example of imported Gothic. At Assisi, again, about 1228 (almost immediately after the Saint's death, who had specially bidden his disciples to build no large churches !) the Lower Church of S. Francesco was begun after the designs of a certain Jacopo Tedesco of Meran. Its crypt-like Gothic vaulting decorated with Giotto's frescos is doubtless remembered by some of my readers. About twenty-five years later arose also the Upper Church, with its lofty nave and Gothic portal.

¹ Very curious preheraldings of Gothic—for such they seem to be—are to be seen in the Romanesque basilica of S. Ambrogio (c. 1050) at Milan, where we find not only ribbed vaulting but Gothic-like shafts shooting upward from the capitals of the piers to support the roof. (See *Medieval Italy*, p. 281.) Ruskin calls these shafts petrified survivals of the timber uprights of Northern wooden churches and believes they were brought to Italy by the Lombards from Germany.

² Freeman tells us that the money was supplied by some Papal legate, a great power in England during the minority of Henry III. In the Vercelli Museum is a manuscript of an old English poem. By the way, it was near Vercelli (formerly Vercellae) that Marius routed the Cimbrian invaders.

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At Siena as early as *c.* 1210 the building of a Gothic cathedral was begun, and the main part of the present edifice¹ was constructed before the Trecento (the cupola having been finished in 1264, just before the birth of Dante). In this cathedral we have an early example of that zebra-like striping, black on white, which disfigures not a few Italian churches and is particularly disfiguring in a Gothic building. The façade of Siena Cathedral, as that of Orvieto, is mostly Trecento work and is in the foreign style.

Then at Pisa, on the very brink of the Arno, was built, about 1230, evidently by a French architect, the little S. Maria della Spina—a chapel for sailors—so called from its supposed possession of a fragment of the Crown of Thorns (for which St Louis was building La Sainte-Chapelle). In spite of entire renewal it offers an interesting and complete illustration of early imported Gothic in Italy. At Pisa we have also the very beautiful open Gothic cusped traceries of the Campo Santo arcades, designed probably by Giovanni Pisano (*c.* 1270), and the church of S. Caterina, which is the best example of 'Pisan Gothic.'

At Bologna there are the Gothic churches of S. Francesco (*c.* 1250, with Northern buttresses), of S. Giovanni in Monte, and (after the plan of the Florentine Duomo) the vast S. Petronio.

At Naples the French architects of Charles of Anjou probably built S. Lorenzo after the victory of Benevento in 1266, and the Duomo about 1272.

At Rome the only old Gothic church (and that very much disguised under 'improvements') is S. Maria sopra Minerva, erected, probably by Pope Nicholas III, *c.* 1280, on the site of a temple of Minerva.

By this time Northern Gothic had developed in Italy a native pointed style. At Florence we have two of the best specimens of this genuine Italian Gothic, namely S. Maria Novella (begun 1278) and S. Croce (begun 1294). Of the cathedral, or Duomo (also called S. Maria del Fiore, *i.e.*, Our Lady of the Florentine Lily), I shall treat later, seeing that, although the Gothic reconstruction was begun in

¹ The present nave was at one time intended for the transept of a far greater building.

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1294, the building took more than a century and belongs to Trecento architecture, as does also its beautiful campanile.

In connexion with the two churches of S. Maria Novella and S. Croce, a few words may perhaps explain, if not justify, my feelings on the subject of Italian as compared with Northern Gothic.

The beauty of architecture which appeals most strongly to many persons is that of form, such as often makes some beautiful wild animal or wild flower so inexpressibly fascinating. In Northern Gothic, even in the early period, the tendency was to conceal constructive form. For instance, the huge external buttresses, attached or flying, that were necessary to keep in balance the lofty and frail structure, rendered still more frail by vast windows, and to poise aloft some great cupola, were scarcely to be seen from within the building, so that the apparent lack of support necessarily caused a sensation of insecurity and thus spoilt the artistic value of the edifice. Then, in course of time, many of the important constructive lines became concealed under ever more and more profuse objectless ornamentation—crockets and pinnacles and mouldings and traceries, and so on—while true decoration, such as is afforded by artistic sculpture and by mural painting and by mosaic, was rendered more and more difficult.

True Italian Gothic—such as that of S. Croce, not that of Vercelli and Milan—rejected the flying buttress and returned to the simpler system of balance by means of strong walls. It adopted the pointed arch with a full sense of the new constructive possibilities, and thus produced wonderfully proportioned forms of beauty, which were not spoilt by being overladen with profuse ornamentation—not hidden as vital form is hidden beneath the luxuriance of some garden variety of a graceful wild flower.

Moreover, genuine Italian Gothic, while rejecting ornamentation that hid constructive form, favoured far more than Northern Gothic even rich decoration that did not hide this form. S. Croce and S. Maria Novella have their famous frescos—such as would be difficult to imagine in any church of Decorated or *flamboyant* Gothic—and Giotto's campanile, graceful as a lily, is as richly and

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exquisitely coloured as a great Alpine columbine or the Alpine rose.

But it is the perfection of form in every detail rather than its exquisite colouring that makes this campanile so wondrously beautiful, and causes one to turn to it with a sensation of inexpressible relief after contemplating the nineteenth-century façade beside which it now stands, and in which de Fabris so vainly attempted to re-embody the spirit of Giotto's work. It is also the exquisite proportions that make the interior of S. Croce—although of such unaffected simplicity that to those accustomed to Northern Decorated, or *flamboyant*, or Perpendicular, it may seem 'barn-like'—so lovely that, as Dante said of Casella's music, it quiets all the longings of the soul.

There were some fine communal and palace buildings begun before 1300 in genuine Italian Gothic style. At Siena the main part of the very noble Palazzo Pubblico dates from 1289 to 1305, the lofty tower (La Torre del Mangia) from 1330 to 1340. At Florence most of the huge pile of the Palazzo Vecchio was built, from designs of Arnolfo di Cambio, between 1298 and 1314. The Palazzo Comunale of Bologna was begun in 1290. It suffered from fire and was rebuilt to a great extent in the fifteenth century.

Venice, as was always the case, accepted the new style late. In Part VII will be described the rise of Venetian Gothic.

(b) The Tuscan Revival

We have noted in a former chapter (Part V, Chapter IV) the degradation of sculpture and painting in Italy during the Romanesque period. In Northern Italy there still exists, besides some very interesting decorative carvings, a large amount of rude and grotesque sculpture, in which demons and beasts and symbolical monsters and Biblical scenes and scenes from ordinary life form a queer congeries. Not a few of these date from the twelfth century. The cathedrals, as well as many other churches both in the cities and in country towns and villages, frequently possess sculptured capitals, screens, pulpits, etc., of this character and are adorned with



252. PALAZZO PUBBLICO, SIENA
Central part, 1289-1305. Tower, 1330-40
Photo Brogi



253. PALAZZO VECCHIO, FLORENCE

Built mainly between 1298 and 1314

Photo Brogi

THE TUSCAN REVIVAL

reliefs showing rude but earnest attempts to reproduce in carved stone or in cast metal the artists' conceptions of the Creation of Man, the Fall, the Annunciation, and numberless other incidents described in the Old and the New Testaments. Such carvings are to be seen at Modena, Ferrara, Verona, Piacenza, Cremona, etc., and from verses and other records incised on the buildings we learn of a certain 'Nicolao,' both as sculptor and as architect; and the date of his birth is given as *li mile cento trenta cenge*.

At Milan, in the Archaeological Museum, are some primitive sculptures by a certain Anselmo, who in an inscription calls himself a 'new Daedalus.' They once adorned the Porta Romana, which was built by the Milanese when they returned to their city after its destruction, in 1162, by Frederick Barbarossa.

At Parma, on the Baptistery (Lombard below and Gothic above), there are very curious reliefs showing the Adoration of the Magi, the History of the Baptist, the Last Judgment, and other Scriptural subjects, as well as rather imaginative, if rude, representations of the Six Ages of Man, the Seasons, etc. Most of these are attributed to Benedetto Antelami, a Lombard sculptor, who is said to have built the Baptistery between the years 1196 and 1216. A *Deposition* by him—a relief, primitive enough but showing noble earnestness in conception—is to be seen in the Duomo.

Fonts and pulpits of this period are not uncommon, such as a very interesting circular font in S. Frediano, at Lucca, in which city, on the façade of the cathedral, is an equestrian statue of St Martin (giving half his mantle to a beggar) by Guido and his son Guidetto, who also built the façade, perhaps about 1210. Finally, at Pistoia, on the architrave of the portal of S. Andrea, is a relief of the Adoration of the Magi with the inscription *Fecit hoc opus Gruamons*. . . . This sculptor, who worked at Pistoia probably about 1170, together with Antelami and Guido is sometimes described as a precursor of Niccolò Pisano; but, though all three may have shown at times a certain dignity and earnestness, they stand at the end of an age during which the last glimmer of ancient influence had apparently died out, whereas Niccolò drew all his inspiration from ancient sculpture.

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His famous pulpit, still in the Baptistery at Pisa, is a landmark in the history of art; or let us use the quaint words of an old writer and say that 'out of it issued forth, as from an Ark, all the great sculptors of Tuscany.'

The reliefs on this pulpit offer the first truly artistic treatment of a Christian subject in Italian sculpture, and the sudden, unheralded apparition of this work of noble design and classical technique at a time when in Italy—anyhow in North Italy—the sculptor's art was in a state of almost hopeless degeneracy is a startling fact.

The date of this work of Niccolò Pisano, who died *c.* 1278, is 1260. Some say that he was already well known as an architect and had been employed as such on the Duomo at Pisa and also at Siena. But there seems no satisfactory evidence of this, and it is likely that his pulpit first made him well known. The question is, where and how did he acquire his wondrous skill?

Vasari asserts that Nicola (Niccolò) served as apprentice to certain *scultori greci* employed on the ornamentation of the Pisan Duomo and Baptistery, and attained his skill by studying Greek sarcophagi and monuments which stood in or near these edifices or were built into their walls;¹ and that he specially studied and copied 'figures from the boar-hunt of Meleager' carved on a sarcophagus which had been 'placed by the Pisans in the façade of the Duomo and had been used as the tomb of the mother of Countess Matilda.' There is in the Campo Santo an old Roman sarcophagus with such a relief, but it shows no inscription such as that quoted by Vasari, nor is there anything in the pulpit suggested by this relief. However, another old sarcophagus, half of whose relief shows Phaedra and Hippolytus and half the boar-hunt, has an inscription stating that it was the burial-place of Beatrice, Matilda's mother; and this displays figures from which Niccolò certainly drew inspiration; and by some wonderful recreative power the divine, angelic, and sainted *personae* of the

¹ The Campo Santo, though used as a cemetery from 1203, was first surrounded by its Gothic arcades by Giovanni Pisano, son of Niccolò, in 1270, and when Niccolò made his pulpit (1260) these sarcophagi and monuments, says Vasari, had not been placed in the arcades. Indeed the Beatrice sarcophagus was first moved thither in 1810.



254. THE BAPTISTERY PULPIT, PISA

Made in 1260

Photo Brogi



255. THE RAVELLO PULPIT

Made in 1272. See p. 333

Photo Brogi

THE TUSCAN REVIVAL

Christian hierarchy are presented to us, not, as sometimes in old mosaics, under the disguise of classic armour or apparel, but as veritable Greek deities, heroes, and heroines. The Madonna—evidently inspired by the Phædra of the sarcophagus—has the regal brow and pose of Juno. Gabriel is like some new-lighted Mercury; the Magi remind one of Minos or old King Priam. Even the horses of the Magi are Pheidian.

Sometimes we are informed that Niccolò of Pisa (on the pulpit he is called 'Pisanus') was really an Apulian. An old document styles him 'Nicolaus Pietri de Apulia,' thus asserting rather ambiguously that either he or his father Peter came from the south, or perhaps got the sobriquet from having visited Apulia. One may be quite willing to accept any of these possibilities; but when one is told that Niccolò acquired his wonderful skill as sculptor in South Italy, one naturally asks what proof there is that the art of sculpture in those regions and at that period was so far advanced as to admit of *this* possibility. One remembers Sicilian mosaics, and bronze doors, mostly traceable to Byzantine artists, and one or two fairly executed reliefs, and some interesting specimens of architecture—but nothing else except one single pulpit; and on this Ravello pulpit these writers seemingly base their theory that the *fons et origo* of Tuscan sculpture was Apulia.

There is certainly some resemblance between the Ravello and the Pisan pulpit, for the device of columns resting on lions indubitably shows Lombard influence in both cases. But there is much at Ravello in regard to architecture and 'Cosmati' ornamentation that bears no resemblance whatever to the Pisan pulpit.

Now according to the inscription on this Ravello pulpit *Nicolaus de Foggia marmorarius hoc opus fecit*, and we are told that this was Niccolò, son of Bartolomeo of Foggia (a favourite residence of the art-loving Frederick II), and that he was doubtless a relative of the Niccolò who migrated to North Italy and made the similar Pisan pulpit.

All this is, of course, possible; but I really think it more probable that our Niccolò was a native-born Pisan, and that the 'Pietri de Apulia' should be explained by supposing that his father visited, and perhaps for a time

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resided in, the south—Pisa at that time being a great maritime power and in constant connexion with South Italian ports. And seeing that the date of the Ravello pulpit is most assuredly 1272, I think it reasonable to suppose that, if Niccolò had any connexion at all with it, he, or some pupil of his, may have been invited to Ravello—or to Naples,¹ whither Giotto was invited later—and may have designed and perhaps executed the work on somewhat the same lines as the Pisan pulpit.

However that may be, it is incontestable that Niccolò was the founder of that Tuscan school of great sculptors of whom Michelangelo was the greatest.

With his son Giovanni, Niccolò wrought also (1256–68) the beautiful Siena pulpit and the Deposition lunette over the door of the Duomo at Lucca, which Crowe and Cavalcaselle call the best bit of sculpture of the thirteenth century. Several other fine works are attributed to him or to Giovanni. The latter's *chef-d'œuvre*, as sculptor, is assuredly the fine hexagonal pulpit, resembling somewhat his father's Pisan pulpit, in the church of S. Andrea at Pistoia. A pupil of Niccolò named Fra Guglielmo executed, probably after a design of his master, the well-known tomb of St Dominic at Bologna (Fig. 257)—and not having been paid for his work, it is said, he stole a rib of the Saint. A scholar of Giovanni's was Andrea Pisano (1273–1348), the fellow-worker of Giotto on the Campanile and the creator of one of the wonderful bronze doors of the Florentine Baptistry, of which more later.

The fact that the revival of the art of sculpture preceded the new birth of painting in Italy is, of course, due to the survival of ancient statues, sarcophagi, and other monuments, and the non-survival of ancient paintings—except such as had not yet been excavated at Pompeii and elsewhere. But first let us decide whether we may speak of a 'new birth,' or even the re-creation, of the art of painting in contradistinction to the revival, or resuscitation, of the art of sculpture. Are we to say that the life of all ancient pictorial art had become totally extinct? Are we to regard Byzantine painting as a gorgeous mummy.

¹ His son Giovanni built S. Maria Nuova, Naples, in 1268.

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incapable of transmitting any vital spark of life ? And are we to scout the suggestion that Roman and Tuscan mosaics bridged the abyss of more than a thousand years and made it possible for, say, Cimabue to find his way across to the City Beautiful ? Well—granting such total extinction, may we not affirm that genius is capable of artistic creation in absolute independence of that law of natural evolution which forbids a break in continuity ? I think we will dare to do so. I think we may regard the art of Cimabue as a re-creation.

In Tuscany at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Byzantine style seems to have prevailed largely. As this was doubtless introduced into North Italy *via* Venice it may seem surprising that it did not prevail still more in Lombardy. But the fact is that in Lombardy at that period neither the Byzantine nor any other style prevailed, seeing that painting itself scarcely existed. At Florence, on the contrary, the number of artists was so large that when Dante was young more than twenty *maestri*, it is said, had studios there—perhaps many of them in the old Via de' Pittori. And most of these were certainly 'Greeks,' or else Italians who had studied the technique and the traditions of the Byzantine school of painting—and what this technique and these traditions were we have already seen.

Among the apprentices of some such painter¹ was doubtless the youth Giovanni Cenni, known better under his adopted name Cimabue, who 'was born,' as Vasari truly says, 'to shed the first light on the art of painting'—unless we should perhaps say, to reanimate the mummy of Byzantine art !

This new light, or life, this wondrous quality that distinguishes even the early attempts of the new school from the pictures of the preceding 'Greek painters,' may be felt, if not described, by those who in a receptive, leisurely, and uncritical state of mind will, after inspecting a few Byzantine ikons, spend, say, half an hour in the presence of the Rucellai Madonna.

¹ Vasari says that the young Cimabue watched 'Greek painters' at work in S. Maria Novella. But this church was founded in 1278, when Cimabue was thirty-eight years old !

THE GOTHIC ERA

The difference is not so obvious perhaps as it is when we compare the Pisan pulpit with Antelami's reliefs on the Baptistery at Parma, but it is, I think, as essential. It is the difference between what possesses life—anyhow, the potency of life—and what is lifeless.

The chief work of Cimabue was probably done in connexion with the celebrated frescos at Assisi, where Giotto at first worked under his direction ; but of the elder master's work there little or nothing can be certainly recognized. Also of the numerous altar-pieces attributed to him by Vasari three only are extant. One is in the Louvre ; the other two are at Florence, namely, that which he painted for the church of della Trinità and which hangs now in the Uffizi side by side with a somewhat similar work by Giotto, and the beautiful and noble Rucellai Madonna, which was painted for, and is still to be seen within, S. Maria Novella.

Latter-day sceptics, mostly German, have denied that Cimabue painted any of these three pictures, and on the ground of some old documents that mention a commission offered (1285) by the monks of S. Maria Novella to the Sienese painter Duccio they insist that we shall believe Duccio to have painted this Madonna of the Capella Rucellai. To argue the point is here impossible. I can only state my conviction. Duccio's vast *Maestà* with its twenty-six scenes from the life of Christ,¹ although it is wooden and vapid in execution, does certainly display the influence of the new style (of Giotto rather than of Cimabue) in regard to attempted animation and expression ; but this *Ancona*, as an altar-piece of this shape is called, was not painted till about 1311, and earlier paintings by this master, to be seen in the Siena Gallery, show scarcely a sign of liberation from the shackles of Byzantinism. That also at Siena there were toward the end of the thirteenth century some painters, such as Guido and Duccio, who were affected by the new movement cannot be doubted, but that on the strength of the evidence adduced we are to regard Siena, and not Florence, as the cradle of the new art of painting I think we may without hesitation permit ourselves to deny.

¹ These twenty-six panels originally formed the back of the picture.



256. PART OF DUCCIO'S 'MAESTÀ'

Siena, Opera del Duomo

Photo Brogi

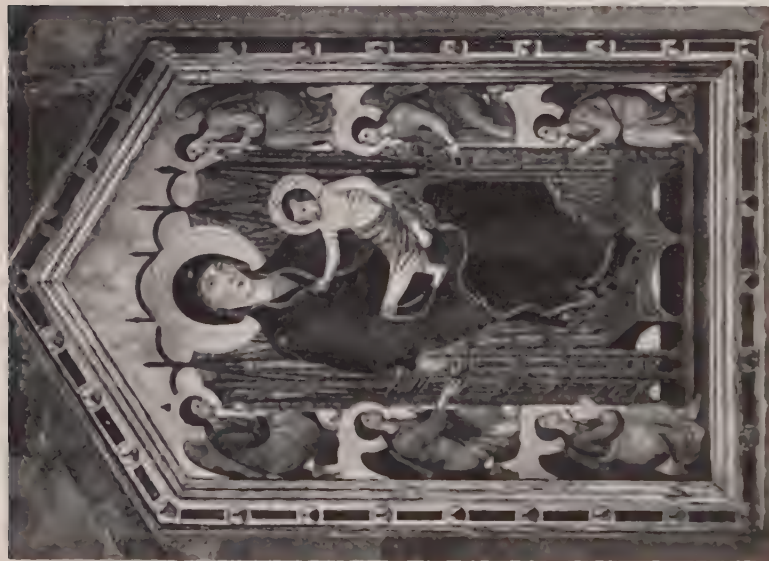


257. TOMB OF ST DOMINIC

Right-hand kneeling angel said to be by Michelangelo

Bologna

Photo Alinari



258. THE RUCELLAI MADONNA
*Duccio, S. Maria Novella,
 Florence, Italy*



259. ENTHRONED MADONNA
*Bernardo Rossellino, S. Maria
 Novella, Florence, Italy*

THE COSMATI

NOTE ON THE COSMATI

In connexion with Italian art during the era of Gothic architecture should be mentioned the Cosmati, who flourished from about 1250 to 1300. To Vasari, who about 1560 wrote a long and valuable, although not very trustworthy, book on the lives of the chief Italian artists, these Cosmati seem to have been unknown, but their names have been discovered on numerous monuments of a very original and beautiful character; and it seems that several Roman artists of this name (viz., Lorenzo, Luca, Jacopo, and Giovanni) were distinguished architects, mosaicists, and sculptors.

A speciality of so-called Cosmati work (found chiefly in Rome and Southern Italy, and also in Sicily) is a kind of inlay, used for the decoration of tombs, altars, pulpits, etc., made of small sawn pieces of coloured stone—porphyry, *verde antico*, *pavonazzetto*, and other precious marbles. (See Fig. 255.) There are in Rome some very beautiful tombs of late Cosmati work, such as that of Cardinal Gonsalvo (1299) in S. Maria Maggiore, and others in S. Maria sopra Minerva and in the Aracoeli (Capitol). It is an interesting fact that the superstructures of these later *Roman* Cosmati tombs are of a pure Northern Gothic style, and it has been suggested that the designer, who was probably Giovanni, grandson to the first of the Cosmati, may have visited France or England. An illustration showing such Gothic superstructure is given in my *Medieval Italy* (Fig. 59).

PART VII

THE TRECENTO

(1300-1400)

IN the earlier part of this volume it was possible to use the names of nations, or national adjectives, at the head of the chapters—although in considering Greek art we had to go beyond the limits of Greece itself. When, however, the world-wide Roman Empire was broken up, Western Christendom did not yet consist of nations capable of developing a truly national art; they accepted the Romanesque architecture. This style prevailed during about two centuries, until the Gothic style arose in France and spread rapidly. By this time most of the countries of Western Europe had established themselves as nations and were developing characteristic forms of art. In this movement Italy took a leading part. We shall therefore have first to consider Italian art during the Trecento and the next three centuries, and then treat separately the art of Spain, France, Flanders and Holland, Germany, and England, adding a supplement on Oriental art, a task extending to the end of my second volume.

The architecture, sculpture, and painting produced during the Gothic era in countries north and west of Italy have been treated in Part VI, the last chapter of which contains an account of the revival of sculpture and painting in Tuscany. In the following two Parts will be given as full a sketch as space permits of the development during the Trecento and the Quattrocento of this new Italian sculpture and painting. But first I must describe some of the chief products of that Gothic architecture, Italian and exotic, which continued to be prevalent in Italy until the advent (*c.* 1420) of the beautiful and original early Renaissance style, and we shall then have to note the beginnings, toward the end of the Quattrocento, of the grandiose, imitative, 'classical' architecture of the so-called High Renaissance.

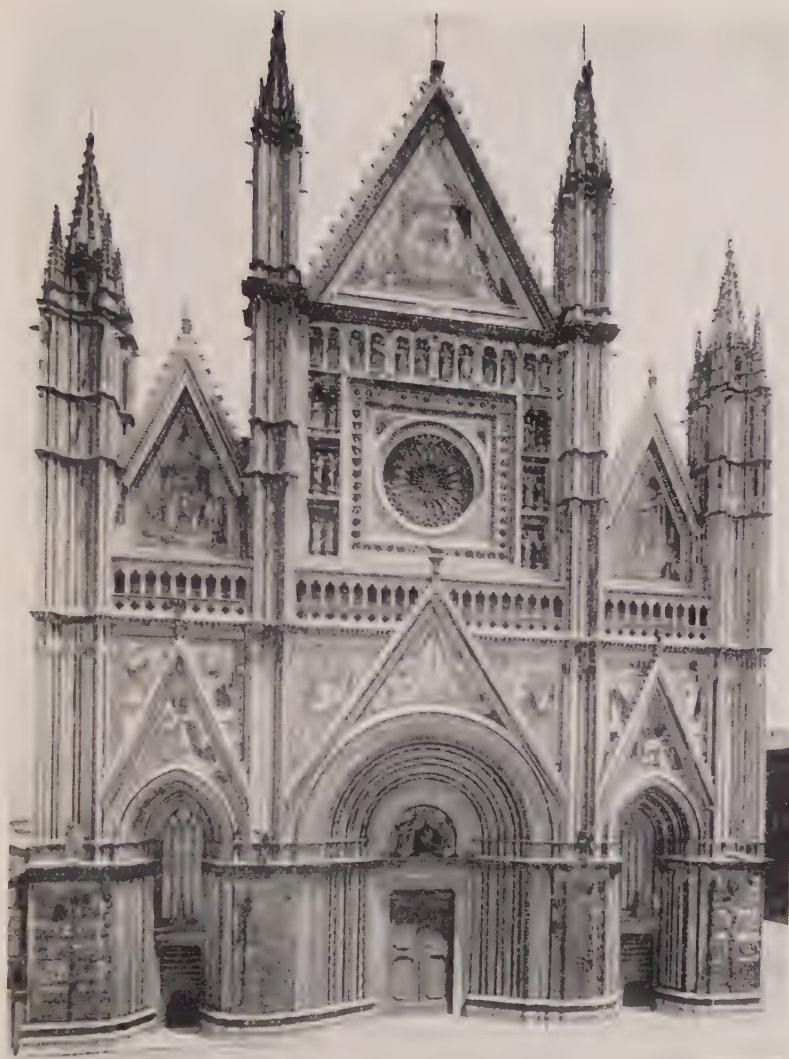
CHAPTER I

TRECENTO ARCHITECTURE

BEFORE 1300 most of the best Italian Gothic churches had been begun and some of them had been completed. These, as well as some of the many fine Gothic palaces and civic edifices of Italy, have been mentioned in a preceding chapter. We have therefore here to note the completion of certain important Italian Gothic buildings, such as the Florentine Duomo, and the (often florid and non-Italian) Gothic additions to others—such as the façades of Siena and Orvieto, on which Giovanni Pisano, Andrea Pisano, and Orcagna were employed; parts, moreover, of various cathedrals, such as S. Martino at Lucca. Then must be noted a magnificent specimen of exotic Gothic—the cathedral of Milan; and, lastly, much might be said about a most beautiful variety of Italian Gothic—namely, that which was developed (late, as usual) at Venice and continued to prevail till the (late) advent there of the Renaissance style, about 1440.

Firstly, then, among the Gothic buildings that we should note (some already mentioned as begun before the Trecento) are several at Naples, *e.g.*, the Duomo, built by the French architects of Charles of Anjou about 1272 and finished by his grandson King Robert, who reigned at Naples for thirty-four years (1309–43) and founded the great Gothic church (now terribly changed) of S. Chiara, in which his magnificent Gothic tomb is to be seen (Fig. 271). Also, besides S. Lorenzo—the Gothic church in which Boccaccio first met Fiammetta—founded by Charles of Anjou, there is S. Maria Nuova, of which one of the architects was Niccolò Pisano's son, Giovanni—the designer, as told elsewhere, of the very graceful Gothic arcades of the Pisan Campo Santo.

At Florence, besides the completion of various Gothic churches, such as S. Croce and S. Maria Novella, some



260. ORVIETO CATHEDRAL
Façade, from 1310 onward
Photo Brogi



261. MONUMENT TO CAN SIGNORIO DELLA SCALA

By Bonino da Campione. 1367; restored 1904

Verona

Photo Brogi

TRECENTO ARCHITECTURE

exceedingly fine and well-known Gothic buildings were erected during the Trecento. The chief architects of these were Arnolfo di Cambio (*d.* 1310), Giotto (*d.* 1336), Talenti, and Orcagna (*d.* 1368). Orcagna was also a great sculptor and painter.

Arnolfo, son of Cambio, born (*c.* 1232) at Colle in Val d'Elsa, not far from San Gimignano, was the designer of the Florentine Duomo.¹ He was perhaps a pupil of Niccolò Pisano, and seems to have worked at the celebrated Siena pulpit together with Giovanni Pisano, who was then a lad of about sixteen. In 1280 he was chosen by the Florentine Guilds (*Arti*) to build a Loggia—an arcaded portico—for a grain market on the site of the ancient demolished oratory of St Michael in the Garden (S. Michele in Orto). This Loggia, which was doubtless Gothic, perished in 1304, when much of the middle of Florence was destroyed by fire, and it was not till more than twenty years after his death (*viz.*, in 1337) that the present church of Orsanmichele was erected.² In 1285 he probably built the old (now vanished) Badia, or Abbey Church, the campanile of which, as Dante tells us, used to sound 'tierce and nones' for Florence.³

About 1294 he designed (see Fig. 251) S. Croce, and just before the end of the century he began for the Florentine Priors (one of whom in 1300 was Dante) the vast stronghold of the Signoria, known since 1532, when the republic was dissolved by Duke Alessandro, as the Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 253). Arnolfo wished to design a building even greater than the mighty pile which he constructed, but was forbidden to extend it over the site of the demolished houses of the Uberti, the exiled Ghibelline foes of the republic.⁴ The Palazzo Vecchio has externally little affinity to a Northern Gothic castle. Its huge walls recall rather that 'Cyclopean' masonry of the Etruscans which, as we shall see, doubtless inspired

¹ Vasari, who is rather fond of attributing buildings to nameless *tedeschi*, tells us that Arnolfo was a German. This is one of his many blunders.

² The fact that it forms the substructure of a vast square warehouse, used formerly by the Wool-guild, shows how little exteriorly it has any affinity to a typical Northern Gothic church. Orcagna is said by some to have designed it.

³ It possessed frescos by Giotto and by Masaccio.

⁴ It was, however, one of this family—the famous Farinata, well known to readers of the *Inferno*—who after the Ghibelline victory of Montaperti (1260) saved Florence from being razed to the ground.

THE TRECENTO

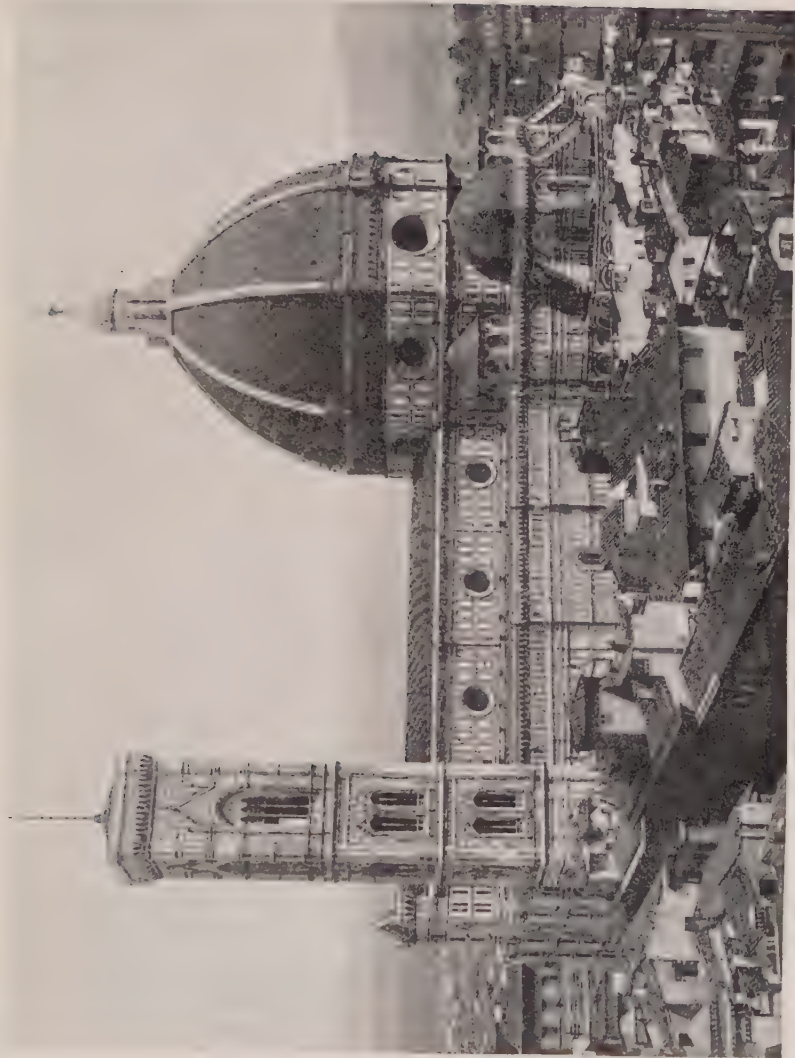
the *rustica* work of early Florentine Renaissance architecture as seen in the Pitti, Strozzi, and Medici palaces. The well-poised high-soaring bell-tower is of later date than the main structure, but was probably designed by Arnolfo.

What energy and mental power the man possessed is evident from the fact that when he undertook this gigantic task he had for two or three years been engaged in carrying out his design for the new cathedral—an undertaking that occupied him until his death, which took place about 1310.¹

The original cathedral (Duomo) of Florence was the little church of S. Salvatore (founded perhaps, *c.* 400, by St Ambrose, or his disciple, St Zenobius, the first Bishop of Florence), remnants of the façade of which still exist in the little Piazza dell' Olio. Somewhat later a greater church—doubtless a basilica—was built and dedicated to S. Reparata, on whose feast-day Florence had been saved by Stilicho's army from the hordes of the barbarian Radegast; and this S. Reparata in later days (1128) was made the cathedral. It was on the site of this demolished church that Arnolfo's new S. Reparata now began to rise. After Arnolfo's death the work seems to have almost ceased for over twenty years. Then, after the great flood of 1333, which swept away several bridges and many houses, much building enthusiasm was called forth, and Giotto, who was commissioned to erect the Campanile, probably also forwarded the execution of Arnolfo's design. He was succeeded by Andrea Pisano, whom we shall meet in the next chapter as the sculptor of some of the Campanile reliefs and as the maker of the first of the famous bronze doors of the Baptistery. An architect named Talenti seems then to have continued the building of the new Duomo, which in 1360 was dedicated¹ to S. Maria del Fiore (*i.e.*, of the Florentine Lily).

Those for whom the word 'Gothic' revives memories of such cathedrals as those of Paris, Amiens, Cologne, and Milan may well be somewhat disconcerted when they first behold this vast structure, coated with vari-coloured marble, surmounted by a huge reddish-brown dome, and with its florid Gothic windows and portals set amid rectangular

¹ Its formal consecration, by Pope Eugenius in 1436, took place on the completion of the dome by Brunelleschi.



262. DUOMO AND CAMPANILE, FLORENCE
Photo Alinari



263. MILAN CATHEDRAL

Begun in 1386

Photo Brogi

TRECENTO ARCHITECTURE

patterns of the polished and gaily encrusted walls. The interior is not attractive. The nave, with its four broad and slightly pointed arches, appears shorter than that of many far smaller Northern churches, and the general effect made by the cavernous gloom and the nakedness of the greenish-brown walls and vaults is decidedly dreary.

Of the Campanile I shall have to treat under the head of sculpture. In regard to architecture it is exteriorly assuredly the most beautiful of all Italian Gothic buildings in Italy, unless one may consider it to be rivalled by the best specimens of Venetian Gothic. The perfect grace of its outlines, the wondrous charm of its proportions, and the exquisite loveliness of its windows deserve even more than all the praise lavished on them by Ruskin. To take one's stand near Andrea Pisano's Baptistery door and to let one's eyes rest with delight on Giotto's Campanile and then to turn them toward the grandiose modern Gothic façade of the cathedral is to confer on oneself one of the best object-lessons possible on the subject of the true and the false in art.

A very graceful Italian Gothic structure dating from the latter half of the Trecento is the well-known Loggia that stands near the main portal of the Palazzo Vecchio. It was originally called the Loggia dei Signori, but is now known as the Loggia dei Lanzi (*i.e.*, of Duke Cosimo's German lancers). It is also sometimes called the Loggia d'Orcagna, for it seems probable that Orcagna was its designer, if not its actual builder. If so, he may have designed it after he had completed his celebrated 'Tabernacle' for Orsanmichele (Fig. 270), which he began in 1349, when about forty years of age, and possibly after he had been employed on adorning the façade of Orvieto Cathedral with sculptures and mosaics. This Orvieto façade and that of Siena I have mentioned before as somewhat too exuberantly decorated specimens of imported Gothic.¹

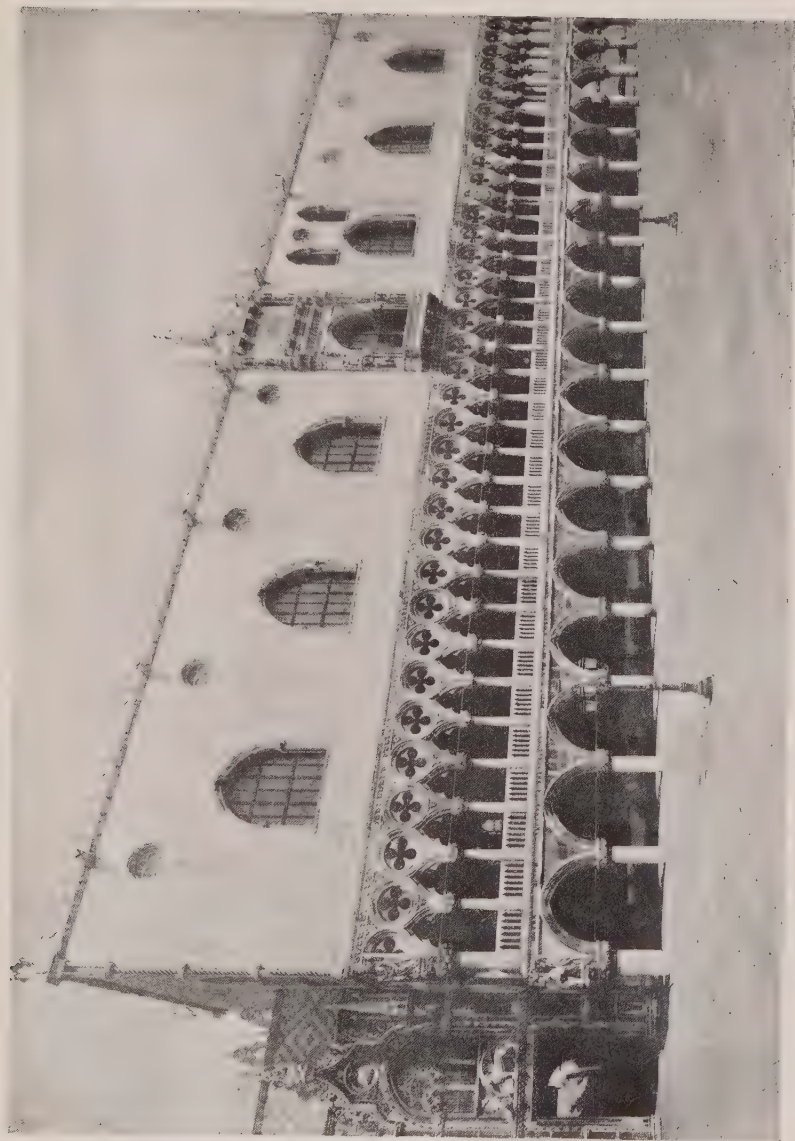
Another exceedingly imposing, and interiorly beautiful, example of exotic Gothic is Milan Cathedral (Fig. 263). It

¹ Other Gothic buildings of the Trecento in Italy are the great church of S. Petronio at Bologna (which was intended to outrival the Florentine Duomo), S. Anastasia at Verona, and the cathedral at Como (rebuilt in Gothic style about 1395), numerous palaces at Siena and Lucca, and the great Viscontean Castello at Milan, which however was demolished by the Sforza.

THE TRECENTO

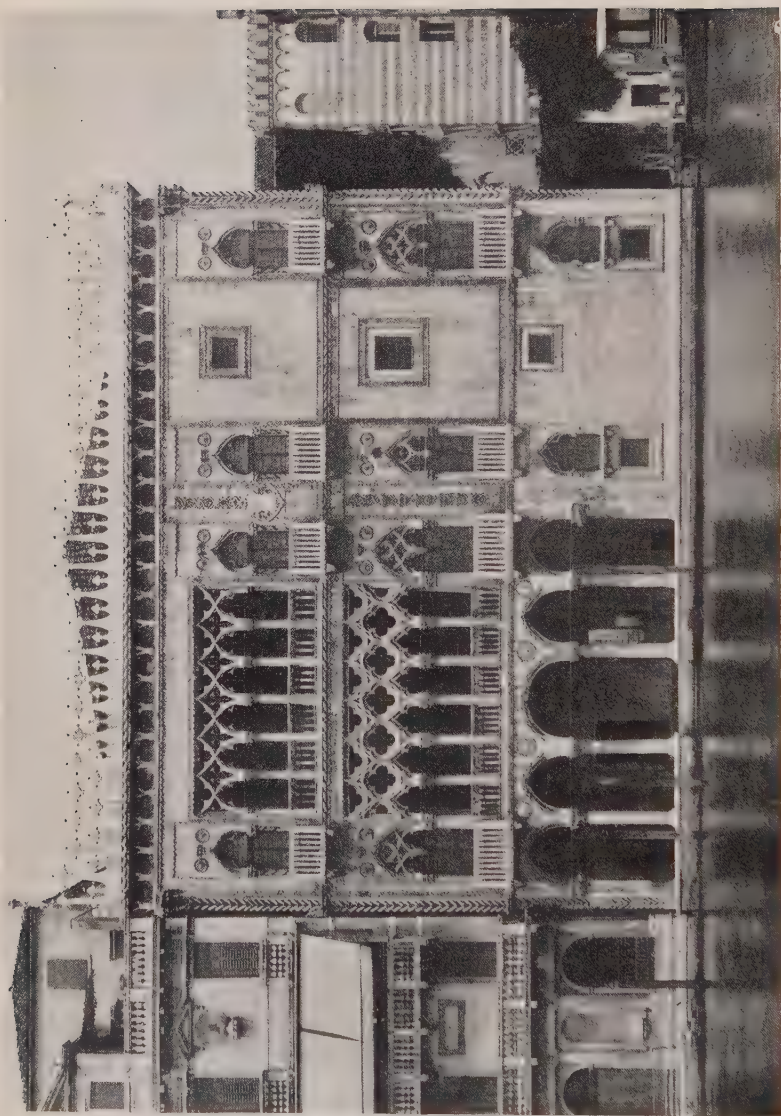
was founded in 1386 by Gian Galeazzo, the ninth Viscontean Signor (and ten years later the first Duke of Milan), who in 1395 also founded the famous Certosa of Pavia. This Duomo took centuries to complete. As far as the Trecento is concerned its architects seem to have been Italian in name, but most assuredly they had been schooled in Northern Gothic, for the vast pile shows scarcely a trace of the essential characteristics of genuine Italian Gothic, while the method of balance effected by a system of multitudinous flying buttresses, the thousand pinnacles, surmounted by statues, the vast and splendid windows filled with stained glass, and the dizzy heights to which the shafts soar upward to meet the roof all indicate a Northern origin. The very fine proportions of the immensely spacious interior and the exquisite traceries of the great windows are probably due to Italian genius for artistic form, and certainly leave in the memory an impression of wondrous beauty, but there is probably nowhere in Europe anything that for futile grandiosity can rival the exterior, with its countless pinnacles and high-flying buttresses that themselves need propping, and its extravagant superfluity of objectless decorative devices—as it were a Liszt *fantasia* in white marble. And what shall we say to the Late Renaissance barocco façade, and the *painted* tracery of the nave-vaulting? The deception is doubtless due to the same Germanic influences as have produced in our days the *painted* imitation mosaics of Speyer Cathedral.

We must now turn for a short time to Venice, which city, on account of its insular position and important maritime commerce, was ever strongly affected by Eastern influences, and in matters artistic, as in matters literary and political, stood considerably aloof from mainland Italy, and was slow to accept any new architectural style. Gothic did not even arrive there until about 1320, some half-century after Giovanni Pisano had designed the fine Gothic arcade for the Pisan Campo Santo; and it was not till some twenty years later that the so-called ‘Doges’ Palace tracery’ was evolved,—the special characteristics of that genuine Venetian Gothic of which so many beautiful specimens exist, most of them dating from the Quattrocento.



264. THE PALACE OF THE DOGES, VENICE

Photo Alinari



265. CÀ D'ORO, VENICE
Not built till Quattrocento
Photo Brogi

TRECENTO ARCHITECTURE

As Ruskin tells us, there was no transitional form between Venetian Romanesque and Venetian Gothic. Romanesque had been introduced late (about 1150), and it held its ground till genuine Venetian Gothic came into fashion, about 1340. Meantime a few churches were built in Venice, probably by Northern architects, in the Northern Gothic style—that style which old writers describe as *lo stile arabotedesco di corrotto gusto*. Of these Northern Gothic edifices the Frari church and SS. Giovanni e Paolo are specimens. They are finely proportioned buildings, but it does not seem that they won the approval of the Venetians, and this exotic ‘escape’ seemed destined to die out.

However, it was not to be so. What one might call a mere accident made the pointed arch very popular.¹ In the very first year of the Trecento (as we are told by the celebrated architect Sansovino) the great Sala del Maggior Consiglio of the Doges’ Palace was begun, and in 1309 the first sitting of the Grand Council took place in it. This Sala was enlarged to its present vast dimensions about 1340, and it needed special supports. The arcades with their strong columns and pointed arches were therefore constructed, and when the architect wished to ornament the spandrels of the upper arcade he had the happy idea to adopt a beautiful design that he found in the windows of the Frari church—an excised quatrefoil set in a circle. This tracery or perforation (*traforo*) was much admired and soon copied, and forms the chief characteristic of that fifteenth-century Gothic palace-architecture of which so many beautiful examples, such as the celebrated Cà d’oro (Fig. 265), and so many vulgar modern imitations, exist.

¹ It was the pointed arch rather than ogival vaulting that was the important factor in determining Venetian Gothic. Ruskin, in his *Stones of Venice*, shows us how the point was introduced in the round Romanesque arch and gradually transformed it. I might also refer to my *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 200.

CHAPTER II

TRECENTO SCULPTURE

IN the last chapter of Part VI has been related how the revival of sculpture in Italy was initiated by Niccolò of Pisa. This revival, due to inspiration drawn from classical Roman models, preceded the revival of painting by about forty years. Giotto had no such models for his pictures. He turned to nature, and for this he is commended by Leonardo da Vinci, whose one great maxim was *not* to imitate former artists.

The figures carved by Niccolò on his Pisan pulpit (Fig. 254) are inexpressibly more beautiful and graceful than any sculptured forms produced in Italy during the preceding millennium, and they surpass in mere beauty and gracefulness the best work of his early successors, such as Andrea Pisano. But in spite of the charm of their imitated grace these reliefs of Niccolò lack some vital and essential quality more easily felt than indicated, the absence of which makes them differ immeasurably from any real work of art, such as for instance the Parthenon frieze. On the other hand, some of the sculptures of Andrea Pisano and Orcagna, and even some of Giovanni, the son of Niccolò, although they may lack classic grace and may even be rather clumsy and inaccurate in form, show a vigour and an originality which betoken something living—something from which in the next century was to spring the new Tuscan sculpture of Ghiberti, Verrocchio, Donatello, and the young Michelangelo.¹

The son of Niccolò, Giovanni, whom we have already

¹ A point to be noted here is that the new Italian sculpture confined itself at first to ornamental reliefs and statuettes and did not begin, as ancient Greek sculpture began, in attempts to produce *statues*. Before Donatello medieval Italy produced no statue as an independent work of art—a feat achieved much earlier in France. Lombard and Gothic architecture have their lions and other animals and an occasional equestrian statue, as that of St Martin at Lucca and Can Grande at Verona, but neither these nor the façade and pulpit statuary of Andrea Pisano can be called statues in the full sense of the word.

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noted as the architect of the Gothic arcade of the Pisan Campo Santo and the designer of S. Chiara at Naples, took part with his father in two of his famous works—the Siena pulpit and the great Fountain at Perugia. In his own *capo d'opera*, a richly carved pulpit at Pistoia, in its main design like that of Pisa, he showed himself almost his father's equal in the imitation of classical figures and drapery. But in him, and far more distinctly in his pupil Andrea, one begins to see, as I have said, a new and original vigour. The angels and saints of the Pistoian pulpit are not simply, like those of Niccolò, Olympian deities and classic heroes. Perhaps even more than the Pisan this Pistoian pulpit deserves to be called the Ark from which issued forth the great Tuscan sculptors.

And the first to issue forth was Andrea of Pontedera, known better as Andrea Pisano, the pupil of Giovanni and the friend of Giotto. It was about 1330, when he was already some fifty-seven years of age, that he completed the work which won him undying fame—the east (now south) bronze double door of the Florentine Baptistery.¹ The twenty upper panels of this door present scenes from the life of the Baptist; in the eight lower are allegorical figures of the Virtues. The figures have none of the classic beauty of form seen in the work of Niccolò. They show indeed the clumsiness of an art still struggling to express itself, and all is presented almost on the same plane. But there is a naturalness and sincerity in them far more valuable than any imitated grace. The episode is told with the fewest possible figures and with the simplest means—with *naïveté*, but without grotesqueness.²

Possibly Giotto may have helped Andrea (as Vasari states) in designing these bronze reliefs, but if we compare them with the marble reliefs of the Campanile, most of which were indubitably designed by Giotto, though many were

¹ Some say that he took (as Ghiberti did for each of his doors) over twenty years; others say only six. According to the inscription on the door the model was finished in 1330, but there were many difficulties and delays with the casting. Each of the three celebrated bronze double doors was first erected in the *east* portal—facing the Duomo.

² In the next Part we shall see how Ghiberti, some seventy years later, in spite of Orcagna's influence, retained in his *first* door the simple and noble style of Andrea Pisano, but in his *second* door developed a very different method.

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executed by Andrea, we shall note essential differences. The latter are much more 'picturesque'—that is, they possess more of the qualities that go to make a fine picture and less of those which are necessary for attaining that concentration of action which produces in the best sculpture the impression of momentary equipoise.¹

These reliefs that adorn Giotto's Campanile are fully described in *The Shepherd's Tower* by Ruskin. Their subjects are (1) the story of Genesis; (2) the invention of various arts, mechanical, intellectual, figurative; (3) the Planets; (4) the Virtues; (5) the Sacraments. These subjects form a cycle. Their connexion may be intimated somewhat as follows. Man is created and finds himself amidst the realm of nature. He devises means to satisfy first his bodily, then his intellectual, then his aesthetic needs. His innate character depends on heavenly influences transmitted by the planets (as taught by Dante and the schoolmen), but by devotion to the religious and ethical virtues, and by the aid of the Sacraments, he can rise above his inborn defects and realize the true end of life. The reliefs representing the invention of the various arts are especially fine.

After Giotto's death, in 1337, Andrea was chosen by the Arte della Lana to succeed him as architect of the Campanile, and perhaps also of the Duomo, and to this work he probably devoted much of the rest of his life, although Vasari asserts that he was largely employed to build palaces and fortresses by the so-called Duke of Athens (Walter de Brienne), who during 1342-43 played the tyrant at Florence. It seems, moreover, certain that it was after this date that he and his son Nino were engaged on the Orvieto façade, where the Madonna over the main portal is certainly by him (Fig. 260). It was perhaps during his absence that the somewhat obscure Talenti was first commissioned by the Signoria to act as architect of the Duomo, and it was probably at this time that its two attractive Gothic portals, that which bears the name of the 'Madonna of the Pigeons,' near the Campanile, and the fine Porta della Mandorla on the north side, were carved, the artist being perhaps Giovanni d'Ambrogio, or

¹ One can note the 'picturesque' element also in Giotto's mosaic, the *Navicella*, in St Peter's at Rome.



266. THE SHEPHERD

Reliefs on the Campanile, Florence, by Giotto or Andrea Pisano

Photos Brogi



267. THE PLOUGHMAN



268. FROM ANDREA PISANO'S BRONZE DOOR
Florence, Baptistery
 Photo: B. G. A.



269. ESPOUSAL OF THE VIRGIN
 By Orcagna
Florence, Oratory of the
 Photo Brogi

TRECENTO SCULPTURE

Niccolò Lamberti of Arezzo. These sculptures show that the study of classic form and drapery initiated by Niccolò Pisano had been adopted by the professional stone-carvers, and that considerable technical skill and some gracefulness in composition had been attained. But they show no sign of anything higher.

Very different is a work of sculpture produced during the ten years (1349-59) that followed the death of Andrea Pisano. I have already mentioned Andrea Orcagna as an architect, and he will be noted later as perhaps the most gifted of the painters who followed Giotto's methods.¹ A year after the Black Death, which in 1348 devastated Florence and many other cities, as related by Boccaccio, it was decided to construct a shrine (*tabernacolo*) for a wonder-working picture of the Madonna to which many remarkable cures were attributed. This picture had adorned a pillar of the Loggia that (as related on p. 337) had been built by Arnolfo di Cambio on the site of the ancient oratory of S. Michele in Orto. When the Loggia was burnt, in 1304, the ikon was saved, and was afterward deposited in the new church, built in 1337, and now called Orsanmichele. Orcagna, who possibly as architect took part in building, or adapting, the new church, was commissioned in the year 1349 (being then forty years of age) to make a shrine to contain this picture² (see Fig. 270).

He was evidently allowed to draw freely on the resources of his patrons. The great Tabernacolo (unfortunately very badly lighted and amidst unfavourable surroundings) is a miracle of carving and inlay work, enriched with various marbles and precious stones and metal decoration. It is Northern Gothic in style and is adorned with pinnacles and spiral shafts and statues, and a picture of the Madonna and Child with angels, perhaps by Orcagna. But of greatest artistic value are the marble reliefs forming a *paliotto* round the base of the shrine. Some of these, which represent

¹ He was also a poet. A collection of his sonnets exists in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence.

² He was given the commission by the so-called *Laudesi*, i.e., a society of 'praise-singers' which had been formed to extol the wonder-working Madonna. This society had the control of the *inside* of the church, while (as we shall see when we come to Donatello) the *outside* was in the charge of the Guilds (*Arti*).

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episodes from the life of the Madonna, are of exquisite beauty. The Marriage (*Sposalizio*) especially (Fig. 269) is remarkable for the wonderful humility and dignity expressed in the face and figure of the Virgin—*umile ed alta più che creatura*, as Dante says of her.

Although Pisa gave birth to the new sculpture, it was Florence that fostered it. As with painting, so also with sculpture and architecture, the rest of Italy, except of course Venice, was during the Trecento to a great extent dependent on Florence, or anyhow on Tuscany. We have noted Giovanni Pisano as architect and sculptor at Naples. He was succeeded there by other Tuscan artists, such as Tino da Camaino, who produced the reliefs in S. Chiara commemorating S. Caterina, and two artists named Pacio and Giovanni, whose *chef-d'œuvre* was the tomb of King Robert (*d.* 1342), also in S. Chiara—a great and ambitious work, but possessing not the faintest trace of anything but the skill of an ordinary stone-carver (Fig. 271).

Venice was, as usual, influenced later by the art of the mainland. In the first half of the Trecento (*c.* 1320–50) some really fine Gothic carvings were produced there, probably by Northern sculptors, or by Lombards who had learnt their art from Northern (French or German) sculptors. Of these the best specimens are the high-reliefs on the lower arcade of the Doges' Palace, among which those containing the figures of Adam and Eve and Noah and other Old Testament personages are especially remarkable. Then, after the middle of the Trecento, we find the beginnings of that splendid monument-sculpture, Gothic and then Renaissance, for which Venice became so celebrated.¹ Fine examples of this are the late Venetian Gothic tomb of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo and that Renaissance monument of Doge Andrea Vendramin which Ruskin criticizes so unmercifully.

In Milan and other Lombard cities there were working various sculptors called *i maestri campionesi*. We hear of Bonino da Campione. To him are attributed some of the

¹ Also in other parts of Italy the Gothic style was long retained for tombs and monuments. It was superseded by the Renaissance tomb (which Rossellini was one of the first to introduce, *c.* 1450), in which a recess with a classic arch takes the place of the Gothic tabernacle or curtains—often drawn aside by angels.



270. ORCAGNA'S TABERNACOLO
Florence, Orsanmichele
Photo Brogi



271. TOMB OF KING ROBERT OF NAPLES

Naples, S. Chiara

Photo Brogi

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Gothic tombs of the Scaligeri (*Arche scaligere*) at Verona, of which those of Can Grande and Can Signorio (Fig. 261) and Mastino II are surmounted by somewhat rude, but boldly designed, equestrian statues—interesting as revivals of a great Roman art, one of the last specimens of which is the splendid monument of Marcus Aurelius now on the Roman Capitol, and as precursors of Donatello's equestrian statue of Gattamelata at Padua and Verrocchio's of Colleoni at Venice (Figs. 292 and 294). This Bonino da Campione together with another Campionesese named Matteo made the grandiose cenotaph of St Augustine in the ancient (much restored) Lombard basilica of S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro at Pavia.¹

¹ It has ninety statuettes and fifty reliefs—none of much value. See illustration and remarks in *Medieval Italy*, p. xxv.

CHAPTER III

TRECENTO PAINTING¹

AS had been the case at the advent of Gothic, or 'Communal,' art in France, so now in Italy at the Revival the practice of art passed from the hands of ecclesiastics to those of lay artists. But at first art was patronized and exploited almost exclusively by the Church. During the Trecento we shall therefore find very few instances of the art of painting being used by republics or despots for 'profane' objects, and very rarely before we come to the *quattrocentisti* do we find in fresco or in other painting any but so-called sacred subjects—one striking exception being the well-known and comparatively lately discovered fresco, perhaps by Giotto, in the chapel of the Bargello, where Dante figures among other Florentine magistrates.

The history of Italian painting during the Trecento is to a great extent the history of Giotto's works and those of his disciples, or of artists such as Orcagna, who, although he may not have studied under the master, is rightly numbered among his followers. Side by side with these Florentine *giotteschi* we have to note some important Sienese painters.

The priority and the comparative value of the Florentine and the Sienese schools of this epoch have been already touched upon in a former chapter.² With the assertions of

¹ The many changes, temporary and permanent, made during the War, and still being made, in the Florentine galleries render it impossible to state with perfect accuracy the local habitation of some pictures here mentioned.

² The question of priority turns mainly on the enthroned Madonna in the Rucellai chapel of S. Maria Novella. A document is said to prove that Duccio was commissioned to paint an altar-piece for this Florentine church in 1285, but traditionally the Rucellai picture is by Cimabue, and experts quarrel as to the evidence of style. Venturi asserts that there is to be seen in it 'none of the plastic power of Cimabue,' while others talk about the 'general inferiority of the conception in grace and feeling' to that shown by Duccio's work. In my opinion the similarity of the Rucellai picture to the genuine Cimabue Madonna of the Louvre settles the question. (See Figs. 258 and 259.)

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experts such as Mr Berenson, who finds that the Sieneſe painters, inasmuch as they 'tend to avoid modelling in the round and to procure their efforts by pure line,' are far more 'ſpiritual' than the Florentines and riſe almoſt to the level of the Chineſe, I cannot ſincerely agree, although it ſeems to me incontestable that two at leaſt of the Sieneſe, Simone Martini and his relative Filippo di Memmo (Lippo Memmi), of which artiſts I ſhall ſpeak later, attained a beauty of form and a ſerenity and dignity of expreſſion outvying all but the very beſt works of the Giottesque ſchool, and ſhowing a character as different from the Byzantine formalism of the earlieſt Sieneſe painters, ſuch as dominates even Duccio, as from the new naturalism of Giotto and his followers.¹

Let us firſt take the Florentine ſchool, of which—though Cimabue was his precursor—the real founder was that ſhepherd-boy Angiolotto whom we know as 'Giotto.' After ſtating a few biographical facts and mentioning ſome of the chief works of this maſter, who, as the poet Poliziano² rightly ſays, 'reſtored dead Painting to life,' I ſhall conſider the nature of this new painting that he introduced.

Giotto was born in 1276, when Dante was a boy of eleven, and he ſurvived him fifteen years. While he was a child took place the Sicilian Vespers (1282) and the great naval defeat (1284) of the Piſans by the Genoese at Meloria, which one aſſociates with the ſtory of Ugolino. Then came the battle of Campaldino, in the Caſentino, where the Tuſcan Ghibellines were routed and where Dante fought in the ranks of the Florentine Guelfs. This victory opened up to Florence a great field of influence in Central Italy, and I think it muſt have been in the following year that Cimabue took his clever

¹ Mr Berenson has ſhown that another Sieneſe painter, Sassetta, who died about 1400, produced work of unqueſtionable beauty. But by him, as by Martini and others, the technique and the treatment of the ſubject ſeem nevertheless to have been adopted from Giotto's ſchool, as ſtated in *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 186. Even before Cimabue there were faint heraldings of the coming ſpring. We hear of, and poſſeſs ſome few relics of, the Sieneſe Guido, of Giunta of Piſa, of Margaritone of Arezzo, a *Crucifixion* by whom is in the Perugia Gallery, and of Berlinghieri at Lucca (all about 1250 to 1275). And we muſt not forget the ſigns of a return to nature in the works of the Roman moſaic artiſts toward the end of the thirteenth century (c. 1280-95), ſuch as Cavallini, and Torriti, for whom ſee Part IV, Chapter IV. Cavallini alſo painted fine freſcos at Aſſiſi and Rome (Convent of S. Cecilia) and probably at Naples.

² In his fine Latin epitaph under the buſt of Giotto by Benedetto da Maiano in the Florentine Duomo.

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young apprentice, Giotto—whose skill in depicting sheep and flies had so smitten his fancy—to Assisi, to help him in painting frescos¹ in the Upper Church of S. Francesco. The lad was now about fourteen years of age. It is incredible that (as some assert) he painted at this age, or even began to paint—if he ever did paint—the celebrated series of twenty-eight scenes from the life of St Francis. This was probably not done until about 1296, and during a part of the intervening years we may imagine him at Florence, where he doubtless made friendship with Dante, already well known as the author of the *Vita Nuova* and as a rising statesman. Then, in 1298, he was invited to Rome by Cardinal Stefaneschi, nephew of the notorious Boniface VIII. Here he probably remained until the autumn of 1300—for he seems to have been present at the Jubilee together with his fellow-Florentines Giovanni Villani and Dante. (For the *Navicella* and portrait of Boniface see illustrations in *Medieval Italy*. The Lateran frescos were destroyed by the fire of 1308, or were painted about 1330 and destroyed by the fire of 1360.) Perhaps he returned to Florence with Dante, who, having been Prior in the summer of the same year, had an official right to have his portrait inserted with other magnates in the Paradise fresco that Giotto—again perhaps—painted² in the chapel of the Bargello (Palace of the Podestà). Then took place the advent of Charles of Valois and the banishment of Dante. It was, I believe, just about this time (1302) that Giotto returned to Assisi and painted³ the allegorical scenes on the vault above the Saint's tomb; and he was perhaps still there, or might have been at Florence,

¹ At least two generations of artists, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle say, had worked in the Upper Church before Giotto. To Cimabue we may attribute some of the once splendid frescos of the transept, which, although now dim shadows of their former glories, leave a lifelong impression on one's memory. Before 1290 Cimabue had also worked in the Lower Church, later decorated by Giotto's pupils.

² There are difficulties about this, now greatly altered, portrait of Dante. If painted, as some think, before 1302, why the pomegranate in Dante's hand (before restoration)? He had not begun the *Inferno*, unless Boccaccio's story about the first seven cantos is, after all, true. Some see Charles of Valois in the fresco; but he came to Florence in November 1301, and was scarcely likely to be associated with Dante, his political foe. After the chapel was burnt in 1337 the fresco was evidently repainted entirely.

³ Recent criticism attributes these frescos to Giotto's followers, but the reasons given seem inadequate. Some of them show strong imagination.

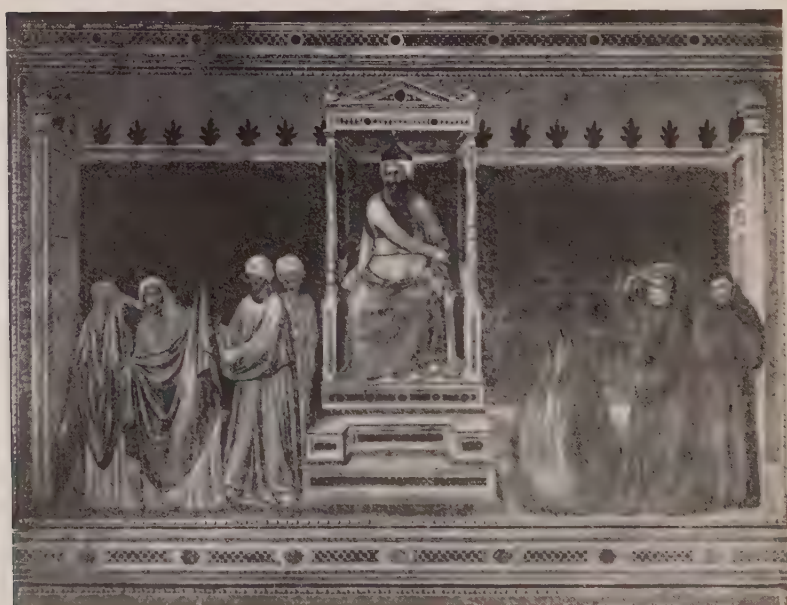


272. THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

By Giotto

Assisi, Lower Church of S. Francesco

Photo Alinari



273. HEROD'S FEAST, AND ST FRANCIS BEFORE THE SULTAN

Frescoes by Giotto. Florence, S. Croce

Photos Brogi

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when the disaster of the Ponte alla Carraia took place, in 1304. A year or two later we find him at Padua—a free Guelf city, soon to fall under the domination of the Carrara family—whither he was invited by a rich Paduan, named Scrovegno, who had built a chapel (the Madonna of the Arena) and wished to have it decorated with frescos. And it happened—says Benvenuto da Imola, writing in the year 1376—that while Giotto was engaged with these frescos (1306) Dante visited Padua and was his guest; and it is interesting to note a fact that may have been a little embarrassing—namely, that just about this time Dante was writing the passage in which he condemns to a most unpleasant place in Hell the father of Giotto's patron, and condemns him also to eternal ridicule by the grotesque similitude of an ox licking its nose (*Purg.* xvii).

While Giotto was still at Padua the Papacy was removed (1308) to Avignon by Clement V, and Robert of Anjou ascended the throne of Naples. After Padua we hear of him at Ferrara and Ravenna and Verona, painting frescos (which have all perished) in Franciscan churches.¹ Then, being already a well-to-do person, he improved his family property in the Mugello (the valley of the Sieve, some fifteen miles north-east of Florence), and made it his home,² whence he often visited Florence. Many of the frescos painted at this period, such as those of the Baroncelli Chapel (S. Croce), have been ruthlessly destroyed, and it was only in the year 1853 that the now once more admired wall-pictures in the Bardi and Peruzzi Chapels were at last liberated from their coating of *intonaco* and badly repainted. The immense industry of the man, as well as his astonishing facility in production, is proved by the multitudinous lost works, including panel pictures, which are mentioned by early writers, besides all that still survives.

In 1330 Giotto was invited to Naples by King Robert, and before Naples was left, in 1334, Boccaccio had perhaps arrived there. Of Giotto's Neapolitan frescos nothing survives.

¹ Vasari mentions a portrait of Can Grande, who did not become Signor till 1312.

² Giotto's house has been much damaged by the earthquake that in 1919 devastated the Mugello.

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At Florence in 1333 had taken place the great inundation which swept away the bridges and damaged much else. The enthusiasm by which the Florentines were inspired not only to repair these losses but to beautify still more their city resulted in a decision of the Signoria to appoint Giotto, 'our great and dear master,' chief architect of the new Duomo and to entrust him with the erection of the Campanile. This great and noble work occupied the last two or three years of his life, except during a visit to Azzo Visconti at Milan, where he painted frescos, no longer extant, in the old ducal palace (Palazzo di Corte), on the site of which now stands the eighteenth-century Palazzo Reale, near the Duomo.

A glance at any of his less restored pictures (except such early work as the great *Madonna*, now in the Uffizi) not only reveals the new scheme of 'luminous colour, soft outlines, spacious lights, glazed and rosy flesh-tints,' and other devices described by modern experts and adopted by the followers of Giotto, and from them by the Renaissance painters; it makes us conscious of a totally new method of presentment. We see that the painter tries with some success to represent an event dramatically by interplay of action and facial expression. There is the intention to make the picture an artistic unity.¹ These entirely new methods are very perceptible in the famous twenty-eight episodes in the life of St Francis painted (c. 1296) in the Upper Church of Assisi, and it can be easily believed that the 'cry' with which they were greeted was loud and universal;² nor would anyone, I suppose, venture to deny that Giotto's introduction

¹ *I.e.*, not merely a scene cut out, as it were, from a narrative. A real picture differs from a decorative painting as a statue from a bas-relief. Giotto's powers of dramatic representation are very notable, his actors being sometimes almost as few and as fully employed as in a play of Aeschylus. He seldom introduces dummies and supernumeraries, such as annoy one so in later works of Italian art. One might perhaps ask whether such dramatic characteristics, essential in the case of a single work of art, are not out of place in a series of architecturally decorative paintings—such as those in the Upper Church at Assisi, or in the chapel of the Paduan Arena. And the same applies, perhaps, to mosaics. Certainly Giotto's design for the mosaic of the *Navicella* (in the portico of St Peter's at Rome) proves that he did not realize the essentials—whatever they may be—of the grand style in mosaic decoration.

² *Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido.*

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of these new methods was of very great importance ; moreover, although he was ignorant, they say, of anatomy and the laws of perspective,¹ there can be no doubt that he possessed a wonderful sense of form and very great skill and facility in design—a fact well illustrated by the exquisite grace of his Campanile.

But was all this pictorial skill put to a really high use ? Do many of his paintings impress themselves on the memory by having revealed to us what one tries to express by spiritual reality ? There may be those who can point to such works of his—possibly the Biblical and legendary scenes at Padua, or those in the Sagrestia at Rome ; and there are surely many who feel deeply affected by some such naïve scene as that given in Fig. 272 or even by the allegorical paintings in the Lower Church at Assisi and in the chapel of the Paduan Arena. But I think it is not unfair to accept, so to speak, the gage thrown down by Giotto himself. A very great deal of his work was done for Franciscan churches, and he evidently regarded it as his special mission to illustrate the life of the Saint ; nor can one deny that he did depict a great number of events, more or less legendary, which went toward composing the traditional, monkish, supernatural ‘Life’ of one who would be consternated if he could read some of his orthodox biographers ; but does Giotto frequently, either in those twenty-eight youthful essays at Assisi (not to mention the really painful apotheosis scene) or in his much later six frescos of the Bardi Chapel in S. Croce, give us anything that reveals the real character and the real teaching of St Francis ? I can think of only one, much faded, fresco at Assisi—possibly by Giotto—which gives me any such help. It represents the Saint surrounded by his birds—evidently at the Carceri, with the blue Chiaggio valley in the background. And if we turn from his Franciscan frescos to the Biblical and ‘proto-evangelium’ scenes of the Chapel of

¹ Some thirty-five years earlier Niccolò Pisano, in his Pisan pulpit, had carved the human figure exquisitely ; but one must remember that he copied ancient sculptures, whereas the painters had no such models. The laws of linear perspective were mainly discovered (or rediscovered ?) by Paolo Uccello, the Florentine painter (1397–1475). Giotto’s figures are mostly enveloped in very heavy drapery of simple, not undignified, but very un-Greek treatment.

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the Arena,¹ although here and there we find dignity and beauty—as in the *Christ Enthroned*—and are amazed at the development which Giotto's new dramatic method and technical skill had already attained, who of us can truthfully say that those of the frescos which depict, for instance, the last scenes of Christ's life help one in any way toward a clearer conception of the purpose of that life and that death? And is this due to want of skill, or to *naïveté*? Is it not perhaps due to a lack of that spiritual insight, or that revealing power, of which I spoke?

One of the truest observations made by Leonardo da Vinci in his most interesting *Tractate on Painting* is that the real value of Giotto's revival of painting was due (as all progress in thought and in art has ever been due) to a return to nature.² After Giotto, he adds, art degenerated once more *by the imitation of pictures*, until Tommaso of Florence (Masaccio) once more led it back to the 'mistress of all masters.'

Giotto's artistic activity extended over more than forty years. From Florence his influence spread to many Italian cities. In Rome, Naples, Padua, and Assisi he himself produced important works;³ and until the end of the century most of Italy, casting aside the old Byzantine style, was dependent on Giotto's followers. These so-called *giotteschi* certainly produced paintings of unquestionable skill and attractive as illustrative art, but, as is often the case with the disciples of a great man, most of them were mere superficial imitators, and except in Orcagna very little vital power will now meet us until the coming of Masaccio.⁴

¹ The restorations have been so ruthless that one hesitates to judge Giotto by these frescos, but many of them present the same kind of unattractive, unspiritual faces that one finds at Assisi and Florence—faces that not rarely betoken gross self-content and bigotry.

² Vasari's opinion is not that of one who practised what he preached, but he too tells us that Giotto was *discepolo della natura e non d'altri*.

³ Besides his numerous and very extensive frescos—many of them now sadly ruined by time and restoration—old writers give the names of not a few panel pictures. One of these (a *Madonna*) was possessed by Petrarca. Another (the *Death of the Virgin*), which used to hang in the Florentine church of Ognissanti, was much admired by Michelangelo. There exists one (*St Francis receiving the Stigmata*) in the Louvre. It bears the inscription *Opus Jocti Fiorentini*, which (Mrs Ady tells us) confirms Boccaccio's statement that Giotto refused to use the word *Magister* in his signatures.

⁴ Mrs Ady ('Julia Cartwright') also tells us that the overpowering genius of Giotto gave so many great problems to be worked out that for generations

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The following are some of these *giotteschi* and their chief works.

Bonamico, called Buffalmacco, frequently mentioned both by Boccaccio and by Sacchetti as an amusing and eccentric fellow, was the chief artist employed in depicting scenes of the Inferno for the great representation of the nether world given in the bed of the Arno (1304), on which occasion the old wooden bridge alla Carraia broke down and many persons perished. 'Four great frescos by Buffalmacco,' say Natali and Vitelli, 'have been discovered. Their subjects are episodes from the Passion, and they reveal a dramatic power and a realism that may be said to preherald Masaccio.'

Maso di Banco, better known as 'Giotto,' was one of Giotto's assistants at Assisi and painted frescos in S. Croce which with a vigour worthy of Giotto himself depict scenes from the life of old Bishop Silvester (well known in connexion with Constantine and his 'Donation'). Another extant work of his is a *Deposition* (in the Uffizi), evidently inspired by Giotto's *Pietà* in the Paduan Chapel of the Arena.

Bernardo Daddi was the painter of frescos still to be seen in the chapels of S. Lorenzo and S. Stefano, in S. Croce.

Taddeo Gaddi is said to have been a godson of Giotto, whom he imitates with punctilious zeal. His chief extant work is a series of frescos in the Baroncelli Chapel (S. Croce) representing scenes from the life of the Virgin. They show no great gift for dramatic composition. After Giotto's death in 1337 he became the leading artist in Florence. Possibly some of the 1000-frescos of the Spanish Chapel (for which see later) are by him, as Vasari seems to intimate. In the Siena Gallery there is an altar-piece by him, dated 1355.

Taddeo's sons, Giovanni and Agnolo Gaddi, were also artists. Agnolo, who lived till 1396, is known especially by his frescos in S. Croce, in which is depicted the story (as given in the *Golden Legend*) of the discovery of the Cross by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, and by his last work, the still more interesting frescos in a chapel

originality was almost impossible. It seems rather lamentable that such should be a function of genius.

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of the Duomo at Prato, which illustrate the story of the 'Holy Girdle.' This Girdle of the Virgin was, according to the legend, dropped by her at her Assumption, and was brought to Prato from the East, and some centuries later (in 1395) was placed in this Cappella della Santa Cintura, as it was thenceforth called.

A pupil of Agnolo, Cennini, is known to us only through his book (*Il libro dell' arte*), which gives much valuable information, and many rules concerning the technique, as well as much sage counsel in regard to the ethics of the artist; and it seems to mention—as early as the first years of the Quattrocento!—the use of oil as a medium.¹

Francesco of Volterra (*fl. c. 1370*) is known by the frescos, long attributed to Giotto, but now believed to be by him, which adorn the south wall of the Pisan Campo Santo. They tell, with much vigour and considerable imagination, the story of Job.

Andrea da Firenze was another *giottesco*. He undertook (*c. 1375*) to depict on the south wall of the Pisan Campo Santo the life of S. Ranieri (a Pisan). But he left this work unfinished, perhaps because he was summoned to Florence to paint the walls of the Spanish Chapel—of which more hereafter. His Pisan frescos were finished by Antonio Veneziano. This painter had been employed by his native city to adorn the great Sala del Maggior Consiglio,² but his work was not appreciated, seeing that he used the Giottesque style, which was evidently too earnest and 'dour' for the taste of the magnificence-loving Venetians. So he settled at Pisa. His S. Ranieri frescos are praised by Vasari as the best in the Campo Santo; and some modern critics attribute to him a part at least of the roof frescos in the Spanish Chapel.

Spinello of Arezzo, known as a 'Novellista,' became a *giottesco* and produced many large frescos, *e.g.*, a series in S. Miniato (Florence) illustrating the life of St Benedict and some in the Pisan Campo Santo. His best work is his last—sixteen frescos in the Siena Palazzo Pubblico on a

¹ Perhaps he alludes only to the habit of using oil as a varnish over fresco and *tempera* paintings.

² If allowed to stand, Antonio's fresco doubtless perished, with many more valuable, in the fire of 1577, after which the palace received its present splendid paintings by Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and others.

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subject well suited to his animated style, viz., the wars against Frederick Barbarossa and his humiliation at Venice before the Sienese Pope, Alexander III.

But the greatest of those reckoned among the *giotteschi*—though he seems not to have been formally attached to Giotto's school—was indubitably Andrea Orcagna, whom we have already noted as architect and sculptor.¹ Of his paintings what little has survived goes to show that these were artistically on a par with his Tabernacolo reliefs; and these, as we have seen, prove him to have been technically equal, and imaginatively perhaps superior, to Andrea Pisano himself, under whom he is said to have studied. One of his earliest works as painter was a series of frescos (a *Life of the Virgin*) which once adorned the choir of S. Maria Novella, in Florence. These suffered greatly from a storm in the year 1358, and about 130 years later were covered by the crowds of gorgeously dressed notables of the Medicean court, who, according to Ghirlandaio, were the fittest persons to be present at the birth of the Baptist, and to take part in episodes of the Virgin's life.²

In the Strozzi Chapel of the same church there are three very large frescos that, Vasari tells us, were painted by Orcagna. They depict the Last Judgment with, as usual, scenes of Hell and of Paradise. The torments of Hell are those conceived by Dante in his *Malebolge*, or 'Evil-pits'—the central region of his *Inferno*. This picture has been much repainted, but its main features evidently remain, and, in common with many other equally revolting frescos dating from this epoch, it shows how vigorously the priests exploited art as an incentive to popular superstition. What, however, we have here to note is the almost incredible fact that Orcagna, the creator, in his Tabernacolo relief, of a most lovely and gentle type of the Virgin, and the painter of the dignified and solemn scene of the Last Judgment, with its most beautiful figure of the kneeling Madonna imploring mercy for the human race, the same Orcagna who in the

¹ Vasari says that he used to inscribe his sculptures with *face Andrea scultore* and his paintings with *face Andrea pittore*.

² Vasari asserts that Ghirlandaio in his version of the Virgin's life made use of many of Orcagna's motives and of his composition. If so, they are cleverly disguised.

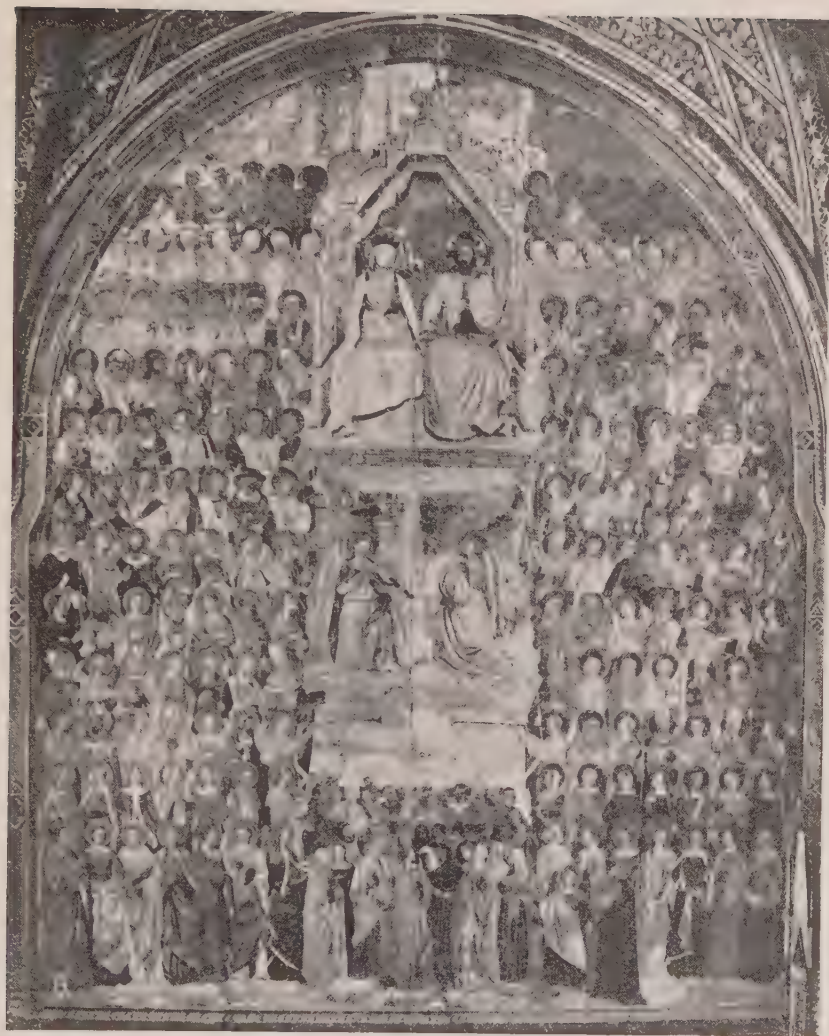
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fresco of Paradise has so wonderfully intimated 'the calm of blest eternity,' should have been capable of depicting, with what seems a ferocious enjoyment, such horrors as those which a great poet may venture to bring momentarily before our imagination, but which in pictorial art (as all must feel, even if unversed in Lessing's arguments) are intolerable. It is indeed difficult to believe that Orcagna himself painted these scenes of infernal torment, or that he lent his approval to their painter—even if the artist was, as some believe, his elder brother.¹

In the same Strozzi Chapel there is an altar-piece by Orcagna, painted in 1357. It represents Christ consigning the Keys to St Peter and the Book to St Thomas Aquinas, and contains the figures of the Virgin, the Baptist, St Catharine, St Paul, and others—some of them of great dignity. A fine *Vision of St Bernard* in the Uffizi Gallery is also attributed to him.

Until comparatively lately Orcagna was believed to have painted some of the celebrated frescos in the south arcade of the Pisan Campo Santo. The best known of these are the *Story of the Anchorites*, the *Last Judgment*, and the *Triumph of Death*. It is here impossible to describe these wondrous productions, which may be regarded as a last, emphatic, almost desperate, protest of the medieval spirit. Nor can we enter into the arguments of experts, who still differ widely in regard to the artists and the schools to which these frescos should be attributed. The commonly received opinion nowadays is that the style shows characteristics of the Sienese school; but the inspiration is certainly Florentine, for, to mention only one fact, in the *Triumph of Death* the terrible form of the Scythe-bearer is certainly meant to represent the *Morte Nera* threatening to annihilate just such a company of seven damsels and their cavaliers as Boccaccio describes in his *Decameron*. Now, seeing that the two brothers Lorenzetti, the Sienese painters to whom some would attribute this fresco, probably died of this

¹ Nardo di Cione. The name 'Orcagna' given to Andrea di Cione is said to be a form of 'Arcagnolo'—derived from the parish of St Michael the Archangel, in which he was born. Orcagna's admiration for Dante (whose portrait is among the Blessed in the Paradise fresco) may possibly have induced him to paint the *Malebolge* scene.



274. IL PARADISO
Fresco by Andrea Orcagna
Florence, S. Maria Novella
Photo Brogi



275. THE LAST JUDGMENT

Probably by Orcagna

Campo Santo, Pisa

Photo Brogi

Morte Nera (the Great Plague of 1348, which devastated Florence and carried off more than half the population of Pisa), we must turn elsewhere, and may find ourselves inclined to agree with those who select the Pisan Traini, an artist who is said to have been a fellow-pupil of Orcagna, and is known to have painted the *Triumph of St Thomas Aquinas* in the Pisan church of S. Caterina. Where there are such differences of opinion perhaps I may permit myself to express the belief, which I have held for many years, that this *Last Judgment* is a work of a very much nobler type than the rest of these south arcade frescos and entirely worthy to be attributed (as Vasari does attribute it) to Orcagna. The absence of horrors and grotesqueness, the dignity of mien and attitude in the apostolic conclave, the sublime earnestness of the Judge (whose attitude probably inspired Michelangelo), the crouching archangel with half-veiled face, the almost Raphaellesque beauty and majesty of the other archangels, the very diverse and well-marked characters indicated by the faces and figures of the newly risen mortals—all this, it seems to me, places this fresco on a level incomparably higher than that of the *Triumph of Death* or the *Story of the Anchorites*.

Lastly, in loose connexion with the late Florentine *giotteschi* we may note Lorenzo Monaco, seeing that, although a Sienese by birth, he joined the White Benedictine monks (*Camaldolesi*), whose residence was the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli at Florence, and became a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi. But it was, apparently, only in his frescos (as, for instance, in those discovered some eighteen years ago in the church of SS. Trinità) that he adopted a distinctly Giottesque style. His instincts seem to have inclined him to return to a style like miniature (which art he also practised), and his almost Byzantine use of gold, together with his delicate outlines and tender colouring, remind one of Simone Martini and Memmi rather than of the Florentine school. Specimens of his painting are to be seen in various galleries. An *Annunciation*, an early work, is in the church of SS. Trinità, and his *Coronation of the Virgin*—a large and most impressive picture painted in 1413—was to be seen in the Uffizi, in the same room with the renowned *Tabernacolo* (Madonna with

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seraph-musicians) of Fra Angelico. But they have parted company, for Fra Angelico's works are now collected in his Convent of S. Marco.

* * * * *

Let us now turn to the Sieneſe painters of the Trecento. Of theſe the earlieſt of any real importance was that Duccio di Boninſegna (about 1260 to 1318) whoſe chief works, including the *Enthroned Madonna ſurrounded by Saints*,¹ ſhow, as it ſeems to me, ſcarcely any ſign of the new naturaliſm, except ſuch as may be traced to a Florentine ſource. I have already given my reaſons for believing that Cimabue, and not Duccio, was the painter of the Rucellai Madonna.

The founder of the Sieneſe ſchool of the Trecento—a ſchool that produced ſome very beautiful and original work, and very unlike that of the *giotteschi*—was Simone Martini (1283–1344). Like Lorenzo Monaco and other Sieneſe, he may perhaps have been influenced by Giotto and his followers,² but his genuine Sieneſe ſtyle was evidently of quite a different character, foreſhadowing, as does alſo the work of Lorenzo, that of Fra Angelico. This may be ſeen in a very beautiful *Annunciation* with gold ground and rich Gothic framework (Fig. 276), which picture he is ſaid to have painted in collaboration with his relative Lippo Memmi—an artiſt often associated, and ſometimes confused, with him. His earlieſt known work (c. 1315) is a large *Maestà* in the Sieneſe Palazzo Pubblico. When about thirty-five years of age he was at Naples, where he is ſaid to have painted freſcos for King Robert.³ In 1335 he ſeems

¹ Such a picture is called a *Maestà* ('Majesty') and from the bent ſhape is known alſo as an *Ancona*. It is at Siena.

² Credible if we could believe that Vaſari rightly attributes to him (under the name 'Memmi') many of the wall-freſcos of the Spaniſh Chapel, and if it was he who deſigned the *Incoronata* freſcos at Naples—to which we ſhall ſoon come. Alſo the freſcos in the Lower Church at Aſſiſi (Chapel of St Martin), poſſibly by him, ſhow ſtrong Giottesque influence.

³ *E.g.*, the coronation of his patron, King Robert—a freſco in S. Lorenzo. The great freſcos of court functions in the *Incoronata* Chapel which are meant to repreſent the Seven Sacraments (a memorial of the marriage ceremony that united the infamous Queen Joanna I with the aſſaſſin of her husband!) are thought by ſome to be the work of ſome pupil of Simone and not, as generally ſtated, that of a Florentine Giottesque painter. Natali and Vitelli ſpeak of theſe freſcos as 'a work executed under King Robert'; but King Robert died in 1343, and his granddaughter Joanna married Luigi nineteen years later.



276. THE ANNUNCIATION
By Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi
Florence, Uffizi
Photo Brogi



277. THE CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT

From the stained glass window at Bayeux.

CHURCH

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to have gone to Avignon, where the papal court had been established for some twenty-seven years. Here he acquired the enthusiastic admiration of the poet Petrarca, who lauds him highly in three of his sonnets, expressing his delight at a portrait that he had painted of Laura. It was at Avignon that he died in the year 1344; and this fact disposes of the statement made by Vasari that he (for though he speaks of 'Memmi' he evidently means Simone Martini) was the painter of the famous wall-frescos in the chapter-house of the Florentine church S. Maria Novella—a chapter-house which is well known under its later name of the 'Spanish Chapel.'¹

The frescos that adorn the walls of this chapter-house of the great Dominican church of Florence are naturally such as glorify that *santo athleta, benigno ai suoi ed a' nemici crudo*, as Dante calls the great Persecutor of Heretics; and almost greater is the glorification accorded to that great Dominican, the 'Angelic Doctor,' Thomas Aquinas, whose 'Triumph' over rival theologians was a subject not infrequently adopted and treated sometimes almost in the manner of an apotheosis. In this case he is enthroned in the midst of prophets and evangelists, while Arius and other heretical writers prostrate themselves before him, and below this fresco is a series of ancient philosophers, theologians, and rulers. On the opposite wall Benedict XI (the short-lived pontiff who followed Dante's great enemy, Boniface VIII, in 1303) and the Emperor Henry VII, Dante's 'Saviour of Italy,' are enthroned as the supreme Lords Spiritual and Temporal, amid scenes in which Dominican friars, *in propria persona* or in the guise of white and black dogs (*Domini canes*), fulfil their missions of edifying and guarding the faithful and hunting down heretics. On the ceiling there are four frescos—the *Resurrection*, the *Ascension*, the *Day of Pentecost*, and an imitation of Giotto's (?) Roman mosaic, the *Navicella*.

The whole scheme of decoration with all its details was

¹ See p. 362. It first received its present name when (in 1556) it was given over by Duke Cosimo I as a private chapel to his wife, Eleanor of Toledo, and her Spanish retainers. While Simone was living at Avignon he probably painted much that may have greatly influenced French art. At Antwerp there is a *Crucifixion* by him.

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probably designed by the Dominican authorities,¹ so that the artists had as little chance of indulging their imagination as a painter of a Byzantine 'cycle.' But it is also apparent that these artists, whoever they were, possessed very little except technical dexterity. Some of the allegorical figures of Virtues and Sciences are attractive, and some of the representative philosophers and rulers and theologians, such as Cicero, Aristotle, and Boëthius, have considerable dignity, but on the whole these ambitious frescos, including a Crucifixion scene with many figures over the altar, may be classed with a thousand others, old and new, which are wall-decorations and nothing more. The question therefore what painters executed the designs of the Dominican monks is not of great importance. Vasari, as we have seen, mentions Taddeo Gaddi and Memmi, the cousin of Simone Martini, with whom he probably confuses him, and who died six years before the chapter-house was built.² Ruskin believed the wall-paintings to be Sienese work and lauded them highly, pouring contempt on the roof-frescos. Some modern writers, including Cavalcaselle, assign the wall-frescos not to Sienese artists but mainly to Andrea da Firenze, whom I have already mentioned in connexion with the Pisan Campo Santo; and the roof-frescos are believed by some to be the work of that Antonio Veneziano who has also been named in the same connexion. They are evidently by some *giottesco* who possessed at least the desire to rise above the level of mere mural decoration and glorification of the Dominican Order; but they show the same kind of ambitious and ineffectual effort as one notes so often in the work of the *giotteschi*, e.g., at Assisi.

In order to understand the nature, and to estimate justly the progress, of Italian painting during the Trecento, one should bear in mind the state of things, political and social, that prevailed in the chief Italian cities—the condition of

¹ The glorification of Benedict XI, of Henry of Luxemburg, and of Clement V (whom Dante condemns to a very hot place in Hell for having transferred the papal seat to Avignon) seems to show that the design was much older than the chapter-house, which was not built until 1350.

² In a group (on the east wall) representing Worldly Pleasures there is a richly dressed lady whom Vasari identifies with Petrarca's Laura. This is just possible; and the portrait *may* be copied from that by Simone. But it is probably only a guess of Vasari.

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Rome in consequence of the quarrels of the nobles, and bloody revolutions, and evils fomented by the papal court at Avignon—the tyranny and scandalous libertinism prevalent at Naples, especially under the infamous Queen Joanna I—the horrors of Viscontean rule at Milan—the perpetual wars and the serious internal troubles that agitated Venice—the incessant and bloody feuds, the frequent revolutions and other disasters, such as floods and pestilence, that made Florence, to use Dante's simile, 'like to a sick woman who cannot find repose on her feather-bed, but with turning to and fro wards off the pain.'

It is indeed wonderful that under these conditions such a very large amount of painting was produced ; and it is perhaps still more wonderful that in this painting (which was almost exclusively the work of Tuscan artists) we can discern scarcely the faintest trace of the political, and very few traces of the social, state of things. This, however, is explainable by the fact that the artist, though now often a layman, was still a bondman of the priests, and was occupied almost exclusively with 'sacred' subjects, including a vast amount of legendary matter, often of the most grotesque and repulsive character ; and this fact also will help us to understand the great outburst of joy that in the next century, as we shall see, greeted what was believed to be the dawn of liberation from the superstitions and the asceticism of the Dark Ages.

PART VIII

THE QUATTROCENTO

CHAPTER I

QUATTROCENTO ARCHITECTURE

DURING the last decades of the Trecento and the first fourth of the Quattrocento comparatively few great buildings except palaces were begun in Italy. Architectural activity was mostly confined to rebuilding and to making Gothic additions—choirs and campaniles, etc.—to cathedrals.

As far as painting and sculpture are concerned, it is best to regard the period 1425 to 1470 as that of the Early Italian Renaissance, and the last thirty years of the century as the period of the Middle Renaissance. But in regard to architecture it is not necessary to make this distinction. We may accept 1425 to 1500 as the period of the new architecture, which in the early years of the Cinquecento was rapidly overgrown and almost exterminated by that of the High, or purely classical, Renaissance.

Italian architecture of the Quattrocento is of several distinct classes. Firstly we have the new, vital, beautiful Florentine style—created by Brunelleschi—which extended its influence to Verona, Milan, Urbino, Rome, Naples, and other cities; secondly, also at Florence and practised by Brunelleschi himself, what is called '*rustica*' work; thirdly, the directly imitative 'classical' style, initiated by Alberti, not successful at first but destined finally to triumph; fourthly, that of Laurana at Urbino—a style that combined the Florentine and classical in a masterly fashion; fifthly, the *early* work of Bramante and others at Milan—in a style inspired doubtless by the Urbinate architecture of Laurana, and therefore to some extent

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derived from the new Florentine architecture; sixthly the work of Lombard architects at the Certosa of Pavia, at Como, Bergamo, and elsewhere—a rich and original Early Renaissance outgrowth; lastly, the work at Venice of Lombard architects, or of native Venetians who adopted and Venetianized the Lombard Renaissance style.

Here, under various forms we may note not only certain vitalizing principles that have been transmitted to us through the Greeks and Romans and lie at the base of all that is truly great and truly original in architecture, but also the presence of that deeply rooted and apparently ineradicable and imperishable stock of ‘classicism’ which has ever retained such marvellous power to throw out luxuriant growths and stifle originality—a fact that will reveal itself as we proceed.

(1) What I have called a new, vital, and beautiful style is exemplified in the best works of the Florentine Brunelleschi and his follower Michelozzo, and shows its influence in buildings erected in other cities, notably in those above mentioned, where Tuscans introduced it and doubtless trained others to practise it.

This Florentine Quattrocento architecture, with which one associates especially the name of Brunelleschi, went back to the structural system of Romanesque—or rather to the far older system of basilican architecture, which was, as far as we know, first used successfully by the Roman builder of the tomb of Constantine’s daughter (now the church S. Costanza), namely that of the round arch supported on columns. But it lent a grace and lightness to this old round-arch style which transformed it into something more beautiful, because less fantastic, than anything in Arab architecture. The versatility of the pointed arch (to use an expression of an Italian writer, Massarani) was transfused into the round, the lightness and delicacy of Gothic—that ‘triumph of the void’—being combined with Romanesque dignity and even with Roman severity.¹

¹ The diverse possibilities of the round and pointed arch suggest questions of great interest. The pointed arch, with its infinite variety of acuteness, allows the solution of innumerable structural problems. But this liberty (which has analogy to that of romantic literature) is apt to degenerate into licence, and the return of Italian art to self-imposed restraint is significant of the same



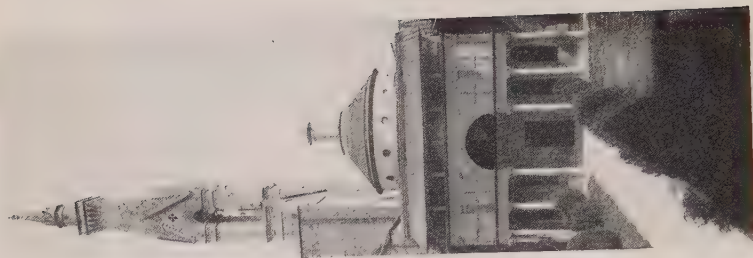
278. *In background* : PART OF LO SPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI

Photo Brogi

On left : PORTICO OF THE SS. ANNUNZIATA



279. S. MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE
 Façade built 1456-70. See pp. 371, 372
 Photo Brogi



280. CAPPELLA DE' PAZZI
 S. Croce, Florence. See p. 368
 Photo Brogi 367

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Single, free, slight columns supporting high round arches form the conspicuous feature of this new architecture—a feature which attracts us, as does also the best Romanesque, by its almost Grecian grace and its exquisite proportions. The ornamentation is, however, not Romanesque—for Romanesque ornamentation too often lacks real artistic beauty and dignity, and is indeed not seldom barbaric and grotesque. Classical capitals, classical cornices, mouldings, wreath and *candelabra* decoration, etc., were used, but in many cases ornament was largely dispensed with. Roman barrel-vaulting was also used, but gave way to the lighter, groined, Gothic system. The capitals, at first Corinthian, became ere long a sort of Composite, with volutes and one or two rows of gracefully outlined acanthus. The dome was used—usually of the Byzantine type, with pendentives.¹

In the following chapter we shall see that Brunelleschi (1377–1446) began by being a sculptor, but was so disheartened at the preference given to Ghiberti's design for the second bronze door of the Baptistery that he went off to Rome, where for about fifteen years he studied architecture, not accepting the guidance of Vitruvius and other theoretical authorities, but examining closely ancient Roman buildings. On his return to Florence, in 1418, he was entrusted with the building of the dome of the cathedral, and set to work at once with the design. Soon afterward he began his first important attempt in the new style which he had evolved at Rome and which he was destined to make so famous. This was the Foundlings' Hospital (*Lo Spedale degli Innocenti*), which is well known to almost every visitor to Florence, not so much because of the architecture as on account of Andrea della Robbia's delightful medallions of *putti* (small children) inserted in the spandrels of the arcade. This arcade with its exquisitely graceful arches supported on slim columns with Corinthian capitals is surmounted by cornices and windows of quasi-classical character.

spirit that rejected the tendency of Northern Gothic to conceal the beauty of structural form by extravagant decoration. But what are we to say of that later Italian spirit which produced the monstrosities of rococo—so reverently admired by not a few Italians of our days?

¹ Brunelleschi's grandest creation, the dome of the Florentine Cathedral, is Gothic in construction, consisting of two slightly pointed cupolas, one inside the other, supported by eight vast ogival arches.

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In 1420 he began the dome of the cathedral (Fig. 262), a task that occupied him fourteen years. During this period he erected in the cloister of S. Croce the so-called Cappella de' Pazzi (the Pazzi, a rich Florentine family, some fifty years later became notorious on account of the 'Pazzi Conspirators,' who killed Giuliano de' Medici and nearly killed Lorenzo the Magnificent). This chapel was planned on the model of the ancient Concordia Temple on the Roman Capitol. The portico (Fig. 280) has classic columns and entablature, but a striking and novel feature appears and proclaims with no uncertain tone the advent of a new and uncompromisingly independent system of architecture; for, in order to form the main entrance of the portico, a high arch breaks right through the classic entablature between two of the columns. This device is further developed in S. Lorenzo, which church was rebuilt on classic principles in the form of a basilica by Brunelleschi for Cosimo de' Medici (or his father, the old Giovanni di Bicci) during the years 1425 to 1430. Here the classical entablature is broken through by arches between all the columns, and these arches rest on the relics of the interrupted architraves, friezes, and cornices, somewhat as in S. Costanza (see Fig. 281).

In S. Spirito, built c. 1436-80 from Brunelleschi's designs,¹ this somewhat awkward device is greatly improved; for the block of ancient entablature is here changed into a shapely and unadorned superstructure above the capital, like the old Byzantine dossier, or pulvino (cushion). This serves the purpose of stilting the arches effectively and lending a grace and lightness to the classic features of the building, which on account of the exquisite proportions that meet the eye on all sides is interiorly the most beautiful of Florentine churches, except perhaps S. Croce.

Michelozzo, the chief Florentine follower of Brunelleschi, has left one very beautiful specimen of daintily proportioned work in his master's peculiar style—the gracefully arcaded and vaulted library in the Convent of S. Marco, which

¹ The old Romanesque S. Spirito was burnt down in 1471. Brunelleschi's new church was still being built (twenty-five years after his death) and stood close by, but luckily escaped. The conflagration was occasioned by a pentecostal fête (with 'tongues of fire') that took place on the visit of Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan to Lorenzo the Magnificent.

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library was founded by the first of the Medicean rulers, old Cosimo, and formed the nucleus of the present world-famous Laurentian Library. In severer classic style he built the Medici Chapel in S. Croce, and the Palazzo Portinari (seat of the Medicean Bank) at Milan—of which last a fine marble portal with a portrait in relief of Francesco Sforza is to be seen in the Milanese Museum (Castello Sforzesco). It is also of interest that Michelozzo, when still a man of about thirty-five, had accompanied Cosimo in his exile, and was very possibly the first to introduce into Venice the new Florentine architecture, for he seems to have been employed by his literary-minded patron in the rebuilding and refurnishing of the library of S. Giorgio Maggiore.¹

(2) As well as, and combined with, this graceful form of Classic Romanesque Brunelleschi used a very massive style of architecture in the case of the huge fortress-palace that he designed for Luca Pitti, the powerful noble who later headed a dangerous conspiracy against Piero, the father of Lorenzo the Magnificent, but was forgiven and became Piero's friend. The Pitti Palace, as it is still called—although it was sold to Duke Cosimo more than three and a half centuries ago (1553) and has served ever since as a grand-ducal or royal residence—was designed on grand lines by Brunelleschi; but only the lower portion of the central building was completed in his days, and even after the additions made by Cosimo it scarcely consisted of half the present colossal pile. But the massive work of Brunelleschi is conspicuous and lends something of its character to the whole building. Exteriorly, in spite of its portals and windows cut out of the solid walls in Roman fashion, it reminds one of Etruscan rather than Roman work, for its most striking characteristic (which is denoted by the expression *opera rustica*, or *stile rustico*) is the use of immense, sometimes almost 'Cyclopean,' rough-hewn, projecting blocks.

¹ In S. Giorgio Maggiore there is a crucifix said to be the work of Michelozzo. The renewing of this Venetian library probably led the way to the founding of the S. Marco Library at Florence, the wooden desks and cabinets in which are said to have been made, or designed, by Michelozzo. It is asserted that Michelozzo worked also in Naples, and that at Ragusa, in Dalmatia, he rebuilt the Palazzo de' Rettori, which had been destroyed by fire in 1436. If this is true it may help to explain whence Laurana (whom we shall soon meet) derived his knowledge of Brunelleschi's style.

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Besides the Palazzo Pitti there are two great Florentine palaces built in this style,¹ the Palàzzo Medici and the Palazzo Strozzi. The former was the work of Brunelleschi's pupil, Michelozzo, who probably as early as about 1430 designed and began it for the old Cosimo.² It is full of associations with the era of Medicean splendour, and is especially well known to the art-lover on account of a magnificent fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli—of which more hereafter. The Strozzi Palace was built, some fifty years later, for the powerful family of that name—rivals and relatives of the Medici—by Benedetto da Maiano, well known also as a fine sculptor. It is almost as imposing in magnitude and massiveness as the Medici Palace, which in general design and appearance it resembles, though it is very inferior to it in artistic proportion and fails entirely in rivalling the very impressive, overhanging Roman cornice of Michelozzo's work.

(3) Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72), equally great as writer and as builder, may be regarded as the chief originator of that architecture of the so-called High, or Classic, Renaissance which in the first quarter of the next century, mainly through the influence of Bramante, gained undisputed mastery, and during the Cinquecento, after a comparatively short period of self-restrained dignity and occasional grandeur, developed extravagant and barren grandiosity, degenerated into absurdity,³ and finally expired amid the contortions of Berninesque barocco.

Alberti was born at Genoa (or Venice) but his father was Florentine. He studied at Padua and Bologna, and, after extensive travels, accompanied the Patriarch of Grado to Rome, where he became secretary to Eugenius IV. He

¹ Within these huge and massive fortress-palaces one finds arcades, etc., in the graceful Early Renaissance style. The round-arched windows too (in the Medici and Strozzi Palaces) are of the same style. (Roman pediments, etc., are Cinquecento additions.)

² It was probably the beginning of this great stronghold that roused suspicion as to Cosimo's political ambitions and caused his temporary exile (1430-31). Very probably Brunelleschi, though much occupied with finishing his great dome, aided his pupil in the design. The building is now called Palazzo Riccardi.

³ 'What constructively should have been straight was made curved or twisted, what should have been solid and steadfast was set in violent motion, what had constructive work to do was attenuated or entirely concealed, while that which was functionally otiose was bombastically exaggerated and turbulently flaunted.' (*Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. 561.)



281. S. LORENZO, FLORENCE
Photo Brogi



282. S. FRANCESCO (DUOMO), RIMINI
Called Il Tempio Malatestiano. See p. 372

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returned to Florence when Eugenius fled thither in 1434—the same year in which also Cosimo was recalled from exile at Venice. At Florence he remained until, in 1443, Eugenius returned to Rome, and during these nine years of Cosimo's rule and the Pope's sojourn he wrote his chief works and evidently took an important part in the many intellectual interests that prevailed at that period—the period of the famous Council and the visit of the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarch, which we shall note later in connexion with Benozzo Gozzoli's famous fresco. Alberti was of immense energy and many ambitions, and, finding himself in the midst of many men of genius he became not only an accomplished painter, sculptor, musician, dancer, athlete, rider, ball-player, mathematician, and inventor of strange machines (like Leonardo da Vinci), but also a very eminent architect. While still in Florence he probably designed the Rucellai Palace. Then, after settling in Rome, whither he returned with Pope Eugenius, he evidently came north again on numerous occasions, for in 1446 was begun, after his designs, the great 'Temple of the Malatesta' at Rimini, and in 1456 the façade of the Florentine S. Maria Novella, and about 1472 the wondrous S. Andrea at Mantua. Moreover he was present at a meeting of Cosimo's 'Platonic Academy' at Camaldoli, which probably took place in 1468. He died at Rome in 1472, having lived there nearly continuously under six popes.

I have given these biographical facts because the personality of the man is of unusual interest, showing us clearly in what diverse directions were strongly attracted such minds as his at this epoch, so critical for art and literature. In his great literary work, the *Della Famiglia*, he advocates eloquently the abandonment of Latin and the return to the literary language of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio;¹ and this book of his contributed much to the revival that produced the works of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. But in building, on the contrary, it was his imitation, or resuscitation, of Roman architecture that had, perhaps unfortunately, a notable result. While he was in Florence he seems to have been fascinated by the influence of Brunelleschi. The

¹ In spite of the fact that he published a ten-volumed book in Latin: *De re aedificatoria*.

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Palazzo Rucellai, erected after his design by Bernardo Rossellini, shows a very effective combination of *rustica* work, such as we have noted in the Pitti and Medici Palaces, with classic features, and the beautiful portal of S. Maria Novella (evidently designed before 1443, although not finished until c. 1470, after the accession of Lorenzo the Magnificent) has the exquisite proportions and poetic character of Romanesque rather than the prosaic strength of Roman work.

But after taking up permanent residence in Rome he seems to have become an ardent resuscitator of Roman architecture—not only assimilating its spirit and adopting its fundamental principles, as Brunelleschi had done, but imitating its external forms. In the Tempio Malatestiano—a kind of temple formed by Alberti from a church of S. Francesco for a half-pagan lord of Rimini (who dedicated it to his deified mistress—*diva Isotta*)—we have interiorly a magnificent but chaotic accumulation of classical elements, while exteriorly the lower part of the façade is a very fine structure in genuine Roman style, of the same type as the Arch of Constantine. Finally, the church of S. Andrea at Mantua,¹ erected from Alberti's designs after his death (1472–1512), shows further progress, or relapse, toward classicism. Its façade, though of fine proportions, repels one by its gross ineptitude as a part of a Christian church; it is like an imitation on a large scale of some Roman triumphal arch. The great nave, with its enormous piers, and its barrel-vaulting, and its flanking chapels, alternately large and small, was evidently the model that Bramante used in his design for the new St Peter's at Rome.²

* * * * *

Several other Tuscans of this period (mostly Florentines) distinguished themselves by notable works of architecture

¹ He was at Mantua in 1459 with Pope Pius II, the learned Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, and revisited it later.

² Nicholas V employed Alberti and Bernardo Rossellini (c. 1450) to design a new St Peter's, but the project was given up. The impressively simple and dignified Palazzo Venezia, as it has been called ever since Austria acquired it as the seat of her Embassy in exchange for a Venetian palace conceded to Italy, was built (to a large extent from Colosseum materials) during the pontificate of the handsome and conceited Paul II (1464–71) and it is quite possible that it was designed by Alberti.

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in the Early Renaissance style, not so much as followers of Alberti but rather in Brunelleschi's more classical style. Some of these works were produced in Rome and Naples. Giuliano da Maiano, brother to Benedetto (the builder of the Strozzi Palace), is said to have built, in co-operation with Pietro di Martino of Florence, the fine triumphal arch¹ erected by Alfonso I of Aragon to commemorate his victorious entry into Naples in 1442. Then, in Rome we find Bernardo Rossellini (the famous sculptor of tombs) employed as architect—perhaps at the Vatican and elsewhere—by the ambitious designer of great buildings, Pope Nicholas V, and by Pope Pius II, the great 'humanist' and would-be Crusader, who, ambitious to perpetuate his own name, founded the town of Pienza and erected a cathedral, several palaces, and public buildings after the designs of this architect. A Florentine named Pontelli (or Pintelli) and Meo of Settignano (near Florence) seem to have been employed in Rome by the art-loving and crafty Pope Sixtus IV. To them, the one or the other, have been attributed the façades of various Roman churches (S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria della Pace—famed for Raphael's *Sibyls*—the Ponte Sisto, and the Cappella Sistina). Perhaps the best specimen of Early Renaissance work in Rome is the well-proportioned and dignified façade of S. Agostino, not far from Constantine's Arch. It is attributed to Giacomo of Pietrasanta, a town near Carrara. In Rome also worked, toward the end of the Quattrocento and during the pontificate of Julius II, Giuliano da Sangallo, specially notable as one of the designers of a new St Peter's and as the architect of the Medicean villa, near Florence, at Poggio a Caiano (celebrated in Poliziano's *Ambra* and for the mysterious death of Bianca Cappello). His brother, Antonio da Sangallo,² built a fine church in the classic style—that of the Madonna di San Biagio, at Montepulciano, the town from which Poliziano derived his name. Lastly, a Florentine, Simone del

¹ The *marble* reliefs, depicting Alfonso's entry, may be by Giuliano. The *bronze* reliefs, which depict the triumph of Alfonso's son Ferdinand over the barons, are of later date (c. 1475). Giuliano may also have had a share in the great Porta Capuana at Naples. See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. xviii.

² A younger Antonio da Sangallo (b. 1485) and Francesco (b. 1494), son of Giuliano, distinguished themselves during the Cinquecento as architects.

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Pollaiuolo,¹ known also as 'Cronaca,' is handed down to fame as the architect of the grand hall in the Palazzo Vecchio which was made for the Council of the Five Hundred instituted by Savonarola. He also built that little church of S. Salvatore, close to S. Miniato al Monte, which was so much admired by Michelangelo.

* * * * *

(4) We now come to a very beautiful and interesting variety of Early Renaissance architecture, namely that which is to be seen at Urbino—the native town of Bramante and of Raphael—as well as at Gubbio, at which place also there was a palace of the Dukes of Urbino. In 1444 (the year of Bramante's birth) the great *condottiere*, Frederic of Montefeltro, became lord of Urbino, and during his long reign (for the last eight years as Duke) he made his court famous by his patronage of art and literature. About 1468 he commissioned an architect named Luciano Laurana to build a palace. Laurana came from Dalmatia and was probably familiar with one of the finest relics of late Roman architecture, namely Diocletian's vast villa at Spalato; and I think he must have known also an important specimen of Brunelleschi's *dolce stile nuovo*, for Michelozzo had reconstructed the Palazzo de' Rettori (Municipal Palace) of Ragusa, which had been destroyed by fire in 1436. These assumptions offer an explanation of the fact that Laurana's work shows a style (*e.g.*, in the arcades of the Urbino and Gubbio *cortili*) in which with great skill some of the main features of Brunelleschi's work are adapted to the principles of ancient architecture. 'The Urbino Palace was,' says Castiglione in his *Cortegiano*, 'considered by many to be the most beautiful in all Italy.'

(5) Bramante doubtless derived his early style from the work of Laurana and may very possibly have studied under him, when a young man, in his native town of Urbino. About 1472, four years after the advent of Laurana to Urbino, we find Bramante residing at Milan. Here the Lombard Gothic style had held its ground up to the middle

¹ 'Son of the Fowl-dealer.' Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo were well-known painters and engravers. Antonio made a famous medal on which was depicted the murder of Giuliano de' Medici in the Florentine Duomo.



283. PALAZZO VENEZIA, ROME

See p. 372 n.

Photo Brogi



284. S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, MILAN
Apse, dome, and transepts by Bramante
Photo Alinari

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of the century. Then Filarete and Michelozzo had been invited from Florence by Francesco Sforza,¹ and they seem to have done a considerable amount, together with Giovanni Solari, in the reconstruction of the great fortress (Rocca) of the Visconti, which had been destroyed by the zealots of the short-lived 'Ambrosian Republic,' and which later, under the name 'Castello Sforzesco,' grew to such enormous size. Better than the Castello the Ospedale Maggiore gives us an idea of the Early Renaissance work of these Florentines at Milan. Bramante resided about twenty-seven years in Milan (1472-99). Both he and Leonardo da Vinci (who arrived there in 1482, the year before the birth of Raphael) left on the fall of Lodovico Sforza il Moro. During this long period, and until he moved to Rome early in the Cinquecento, he worked in his first, or Milanese, style, which was not that which one generally associates with him as the chief initiator of the classical architecture of the High Renaissance. The most important works of his Milanese period are the dome, transept, and choir of S. Maria delle Grazie.² Under this dome the Moro's youthful duchess, Beatrice d'Este, was entombed in 1497, in which year Leonardo da Vinci was painting in the refectory of the adjacent monastery his celebrated *Last Supper*.

(6) The façade of the celebrated church of the Certosa (Carthusian monastery) near Pavia offers a magnificent example of the Lombard variety of later Quattrocento architecture—a variety very different from Brunelleschi's but quite as original. It is characterized by exuberant fancy and rich decoration, but differs essentially from that extravagant imitative classicism which, like some parasite, was ere long to stifle it, and all other true outgrowths, in its gigantic coils.

This Carthusian monastery was begun by Gian Galeazzo Visconti (the 'Viper of Milan' *par excellence*) in 1396. The

¹ The last of the Visconti dukes, Filippo Maria, is said to have invited Brunelleschi; but it seems that Filarete (whose classic bronze door of St Peter's was nearly contemporary with Ghiberti's celebrated Baptistery door) first introduced classicism into Milan. He died in 1465, and Michelozzo, who seems to have continued his work at Milan, died in 1472—a fact that may have caused Bramante to come thither.

² Originally designed by Guinoforte Solari. We have already had Giovanni Solari, a Milanese architect, and shall note later the sculptor Cristoforo Solari, and the very fine painter Andrea Solari.

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interior of the church is mainly Gothic—a style that dominated Lombardy for about two centuries; the outside of the vast pile displays a variety of Lombard Romanesque, with beautiful decorative arcades. Most of the monastery was completed early in the Quattrocento, and the cloisters show arcades not unlike those of Brunelleschi at Florence.

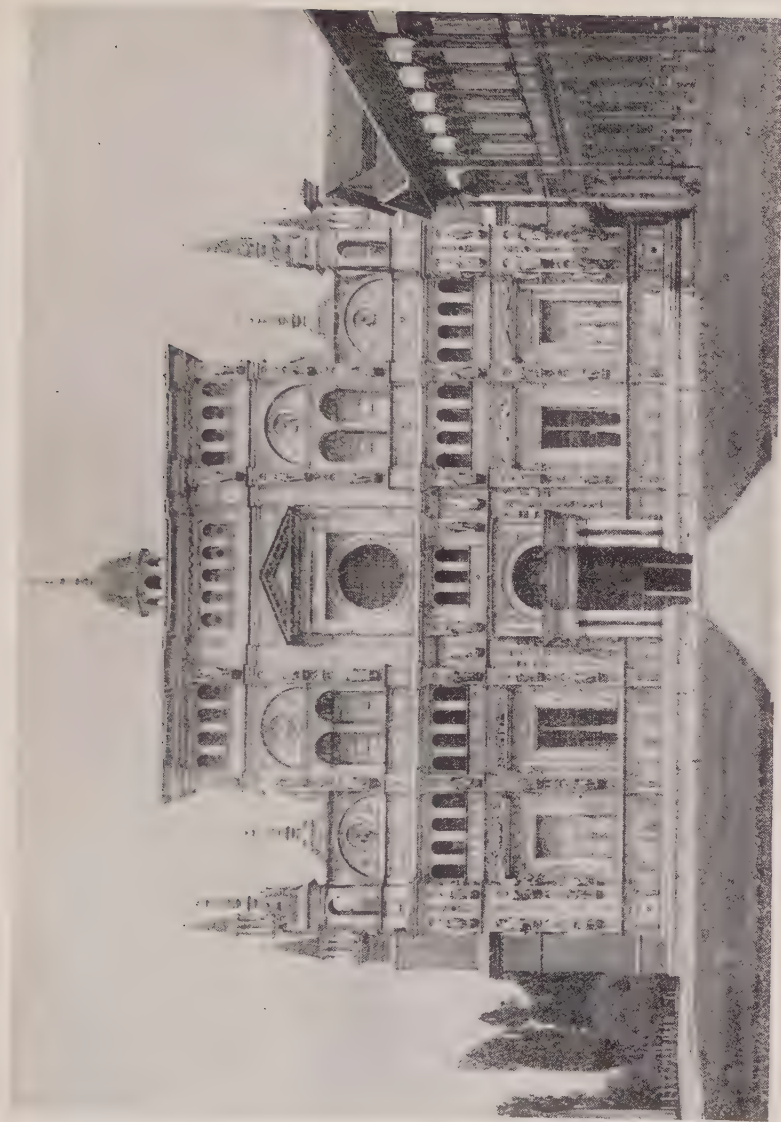
The façade of the church, with which we are here specially interested, was begun about 1473 (the year after Bramante's advent to Milan) by the two brothers Mantegazza and a young architect named Amadeo, very fine specimens of whose work are the four principal windows.¹ The lower half of the façade was finished by about 1492; the upper was added later, perhaps by Guinoforte Solari.

Other examples of Lombard Quattrocento architecture are the rather extravagantly decorative Cappella Colleoni at Bergamo, erected for the great *condottiere* by the above-mentioned Amadeo, and the exceedingly beautiful Como Cathedral. The transepts and apse of this church show a Lombard Romanesque style somewhat similar to that of the Pavian Certosa, with which it is contemporaneous.

(7) It will be remembered that toward the latter part of the century Venice had passed the meridian of her glory and was beginning a long and disastrous, but heroic, struggle against the Turks, and also against the furious hostility of many Christian states, which finally allied together with the determination to annihilate her empire; but she was still perhaps the most powerful maritime state of Europe. She held much of the Near East in fee, and her *terra ferma* dominion in Italy extended over no small part of Lombardy.

Now the splendour and the unique character of her churches and palaces, Venetian Byzantine, Venetian Romanesque, and Venetian Gothic, had long exercised a special charm on the imagination of men, and until the middle of the Quattrocento the new architecture, already far developed in other parts of Italy, had failed to win its way to favour. The first who succeeded in introducing it—to a small extent—were, as was natural, natives of Lombard cities which owned allegiance to

¹ Amadeo had a hand also in the Duomo of Padua and the Ospedale Maggiore at Milan, and he built a spire of Milan Cathedral that bears his name and his statue.



285. LA CERTOSA DI PAVIA

Photo Alinari



286. LA CAPPELLA COLLEONI, BERGAMO

Photo Alinari

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the Venetian Republic.¹ We find several architects named 'Lombardi'—evidently members of some family or fraternity of Lombard artists. Of these the most famous, Pietro Lombardi, constructed (c. 1480) S. Maria dei Miracoli, which shows the usual Venetian love of coloured marble decoration, but in other respects reminds one of the Certosa façade, Como Cathedral, and other Lombard Quattrocento buildings. Pietro also, probably, built the fine Palazzo Vendramin and the beautiful portal, if not other parts, of the celebrated façade of the Scuola di S. Marco, remarkable for its curious perspective reliefs. Both Pietro Lombardo and the somewhat earlier Veronese architect, Rizzo—one of divers Rizzi or Ricci, or 'Curly-pates'—will be mentioned as notable Venetian sculptors.

Finally, in connexion with the somewhat rare Venetian Quattrocento Renaissance architecture should be mentioned the exceedingly beautiful Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona. It possesses an arcaded front which rivals in its proportions the best work of Brunelleschi. The arcade is surmounted by a quasi-classic façade, also of fine proportions, in which are inserted windows of exquisitely graceful form reminding one of the loveliest products of Lombard Romanesque. The builder of this Palazzo del Consiglio was probably Fra Giordano of Verona, that mysterious Dominican friar who as antiquary and humanist distinguished himself by publishing Pliny's *Letters* and by making a collection of two thousand ancient inscriptions, which he gave to Lorenzo de' Medici. Then, summoned by Louis XII to Paris, he—possibly—built the Notre-Dame bridge, and was one of the first to introduce the influence of the Italian Renaissance into France. His Venetian work gained him the name of 'the second builder of Venice'; he fortified Treviso; and at Rome he was one of the architects of the new St Peter's.²

¹ A solitary instance, it seems, of direct importation of the Brunelleschi style was the work of Michelozzo in connexion with the library of S. Giorgio Maggiore Convent, but this was perhaps limited to certain internal arrangements. The beautiful Porta della Carta (probably by Bartolomeo and Giovanni Buon, c. 1440), opposite the Giants' Stair, is an early example of the introduction into Venetian Gothic of classical characteristics, such as the pretty little Cupids. (See Fig. 287.) S. Zaccaria offers another example.

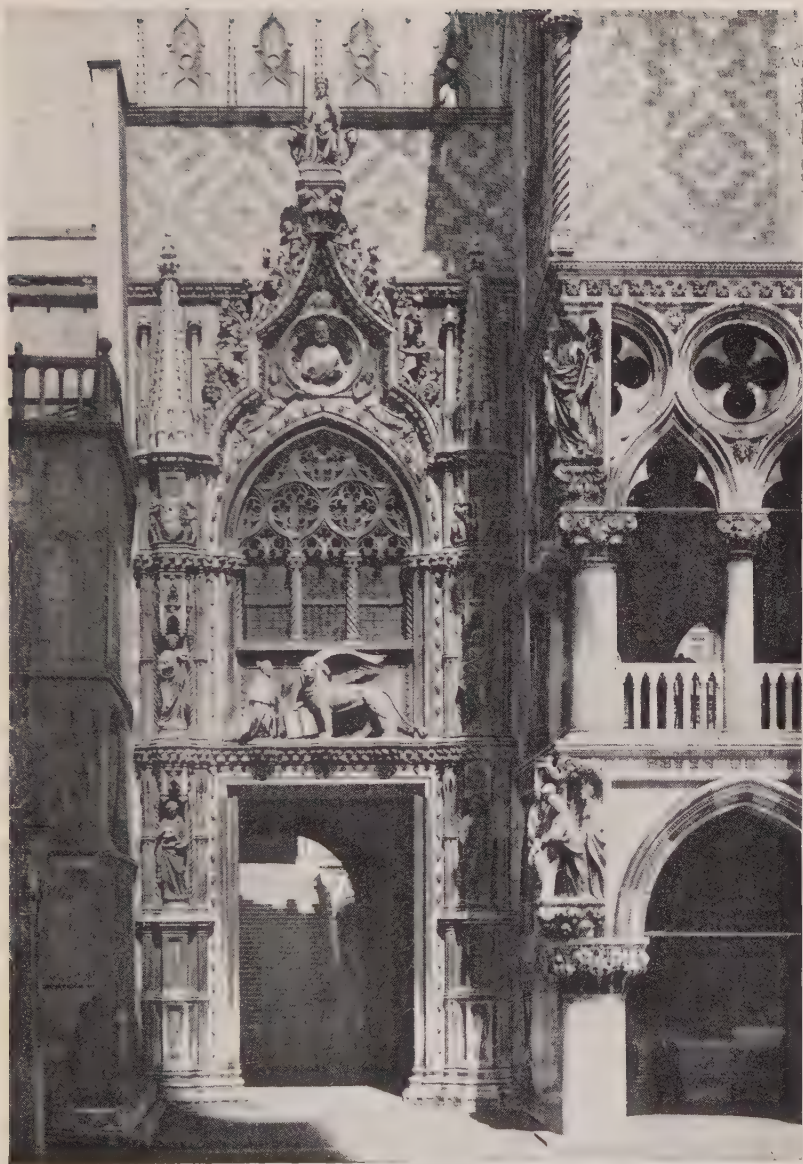
² One should perhaps add to the above specimens of non-Florentine Quattrocento architecture certain remarkable palaces at Ferrara (Schifanoja and the Palazzo de' Diamanti, so called from the shape of its *rustica* blocks), which are evidently imitated from what I have called the Florentine 'Etruscan' style.

CHAPTER II

QUATTROCENTO SCULPTURE

WE have already noted that the new Tuscan sculpture, even in the days of Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano, was no mere imitation of ancient models. It drew its sap, so to speak, from the old stock, but it was a new graft; and ere long we find a luxuriant outgrowth of various grafts, for there are specific differences between the chief Tuscan sculptors of the Quattrocento. Della Quercia has a strength and beauty by which he seems to anticipate Michelangelo; Ghiberti may almost be called a Raphaellesque painter in bronze; Donatello's vigorous originality restored sculpture to its dignity as an independent art; Verrocchio displays qualities—intensity in expression, and mastery in equestrian statuary—which powerfully influenced Leonardo da Vinci; but all of these owed their artistic existence, directly or indirectly, to the one source—to Greek and Roman art. Nor should we forget the two great della Robbias, whose works, although apparently unaffected by the ever-stronger tendency toward 'classicism,' manifest a spirit almost Greek in its power of creating things of beauty.

Between the days of Orcagna and the beginning of the Quattrocento we have in the history of Italian sculpture, as also in that of painting, a barren period of about thirty years; but early in the new century we find a splendid group of young artists. The chief of these were della Quercia, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Donatello. These were soon to be followed by Luca della Robbia and the two Rossellini; then by Desiderio of Settignano, Mino of Fiesole, Verrocchio, Andrea della Robbia and his son Giovanni, Benedetto da Maiano, Civitali at Lucca, Cristoforo Solari at Milan, Pietro Lombardi and Leopardi at Venice. It will take up all available space if I put very briefly what it is necessary to say about these seventeen sculptors.



287. LA PORTA DELLA CARTA, DOGES' PALACE, VENICE

See p. 377 n.

Photo Brogi



288. ILARIA DE' GUINIGI
By della Quercia, *Lucca Cathedral*
Photo. Alinari

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Jacopo della Quercia of Siena (1374-1438), known familiarly as 'Jacopo della Fonte,' seems to have spent ten years¹ in designing and executing his first important work, namely the famous fountain, Fonte Gaia, in the piazza of the Palazzo Pubblico of his native town, the reliefs on which, depicting the Creation of Man, the Expulsion from Eden, and other such subjects, show a vigour and dramatic power which would be sought in vain among the *trecentisti* and scarcely found in Italian sculpture until the coming of Michelangelo.

His second important work, which occupied him perhaps even longer (1425-38), was an extensive series of smaller reliefs in a similar style with which he decorated the main portal of the great church of S. Petronio at Bologna. But perhaps the best known of his creations is one of his early works—the monument in Lucca Cathedral to Ilaria, wife of one of the turbulent, cut-throat Guinigi.² The gracious, recumbent figure, draped in a simple robe, with its peaceful, gentle face, and eyes closed as if in sleep, is the first revelation of supreme beauty by Renaissance sculpture.

Brunelleschi has already occupied our attention as a very great architect. He began, however, by being a sculptor, and there are two works of his which, though not in themselves of great value, are of great interest. The first is a large wooden crucifix—the Figure about life-size—which hangs in S. Maria Novella, near Orcagna's great frescos. It was made, they say, in response to a challenge from Donatello, whose somewhat similar work (which hangs in S. Croce) had been criticized by Brunelleschi. 'Thou hast put a *contadino* on the Cross instead of a Christ,' he had remarked. 'Take thou wood and make one thyself!' had been Donatello's reply; and when Brunelleschi did so and produced his work his astounded friend, it is said, dropped an apronful of eggs and market-stuff that he was carrying. The other work of Brunelleschi as sculptor can be seen in the Bargello. It is the model bronze relief, depicting Abraham's

¹ C. 1409-19. Vasari, however, puts it much later. The fountain was restored at an exhibition of ancient Siennese art in 1904. Relics of the original work are preserved in the Opera del Duomo.

² A Gothic Palazzo Guinigi, of about 1400, still exists. The monument was for many years stowed away in an obscure corner of the sacristy.

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sacrifice, which he offered as competitor against Ghiberti, della Quercia, and other artists when the second bronze doors of the Florentine Baptistery were to be made. Ghiberti's relief, which won the competition, hangs near that of Brunelleschi and certainly excels it in beauty of composition and outline.

Lorenzo Ghiberti, of Florence (1378-1455), was first trained—as was so often the case with Italian artists—as a goldsmith; but, as he tells us in his *Commentarii* (probably the earliest extant autobiography and book on art by an artist), his mind was 'greatly given to painting'—a significant fact, for his work as sculptor tends undeniably too much toward the pictorial.

It will be remembered that the first of the three splendid bronze double doors of the Baptistery was made (c. 1330-36) by Andrea Pisano. In 1403 Ghiberti was chosen, as above stated, to make another. In this first door of his, which occupied him about twenty years, he retained the simple and noble method used seventy years before by Andrea, and except for a certain gracefulness and movement the work has the character of Trecento sculpture.¹

Great is the difference between this earlier work of Ghiberti and his second bronze door, which, begun almost at once after the first, was not completed till 1452. So great, indeed, is the difference that evidently in the interval a most momentous change must have taken place in his ideas, and doubtless also in the ideas of others, as to the end and the methods of sculpture. This change, due greatly to the influence of Donatello, seems to have first made itself clearly perceptible just about 1425, so we may accept this date and Ghiberti's second Baptistery door as marking the beginning, anyhow for sculpture, of what we call the Renaissance.

These bronze reliefs of Ghiberti exercise an attraction like that of beautiful drawings or delicately tinted water-colours; but one feels instinctively that as sculpture they

¹ There are twenty-eight small reliefs (scenes from the New Testament), whereas in his second door there are only ten large panels, each wholly occupied by a scene from the Old Testament—some with many figures and a perspective distance such as hitherto (till Paolo Uccello) had been scarcely possible even in painting.



289. FROM Ghiberti's FIRST BAPTISTERY DOOR
Photo Alinari



290. FROM Ghiberti's SECOND BAPTISTERY DOOR
Photo Alinari



291. CANTORIA, BY DONATELLO

See p. 382

Photo: Bongi

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are unsatisfactory. A great sculptor (one is inclined to argue) does not attempt imitation of natural effects; he presents the idea of an object in a form which in material and size and colour, and in other important respects, is generally totally different from that of the natural object. The effects of the optical conditions under which natural objects, especially in extended scenes, are perceived by us may be successfully imitated in pictorial art by such devices as linear and aerial perspective; but any attempt to use such devices in sculpture contravenes the main principle of the plastic art, which tends to concentration and limitation in time and in space. Nevertheless it may be well not to criticize a work on which Ghiberti spent more than a quarter of a century, and of which Michelangelo said that it was worthy to decorate the Gate of Paradise.

Other works of Ghiberti are rare. Among them are three fine statues (*John the Baptist*, *St Matthew*, and *St Stephen*) which still adorn the outside of the church Orsanmichele; two reliefs on the font in Siena Cathedral—others being by Donatello and della Quercia; the bronze sarcophagus of St Zenobius, first Bishop of Florence, which is under the altar of the Duomo. As goldsmith he distinguished himself by making for Pope Eugenius, on the occasion of the Florentine Council of 1439, a tiara worth 30,000 ducats and containing five and a half pounds of pearls and precious stones.

Donatello's genius was audaciously original and impelled him toward a display of strength without beauty, such as is conspicuous in some of the later Quattrocento painters. But he was deeply influenced by the beauty and nobility of ancient art; so in his finest work there is a combination of grace and power that makes him the equal of Michelangelo—whom indeed he perhaps excels in that he wins us by intensity of human feeling rather than overwhelming us by *terribilità*.

To Donatello (1386–1466) is given the credit, as I have already mentioned, of having restored sculpture to its independence and dignity. His *David* was probably the first statue made in Italy since the age of Constantine which can be regarded as an independent work of art. Hitherto Italian sculpture, as indeed also painting, had been

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subservient to architecture. All statues since the extinction of ancient art, even those made by Donatello himself, had been intended for certain surroundings, and were to be regarded from a certain point of view.¹ Even his *St George*, though of undeniable nobility, needs a niche (which it possesses still, in the National Museum) and can scarcely be considered as a statue in as full a sense of the word as his *David*, or the *David* of Michelangelo, which is equally at home under the cupola of the Accademia and under the open sky—in the midst of the Piazzale ‘sopra Rubaconte.’

The chief works of Donatello are as follows :

(1) The beautiful *Annunciation* in S. Croce, a relief in sandstone (*pietra serena*) ; perhaps an early work, of about 1408, but possibly as late as 1425.

(2) The *St Peter* (probably) and the *St Mark* and the celebrated *St George* (1416), all three made to be placed in niches to decorate externally the church of Orsanmichele (for which see p. 337). These statues, as well as others by Ghiberti and other sculptors, were ordered by the various Guilds (*Arti*). The *St George* has been removed to the great Donatello Hall in the National Museum (Bargello), where he is ensconced in a niche similar to the original, which original niche, on the north side of the church, is now filled by a bronze substitute painted like marble. (In *Italy from Dante to Tasso* is given a photograph taken when the statue was standing in a niche on the south side, whither it was transferred to save it from further deterioration by the weather and whence, in 1891, it was removed to the Museum.) To these statues we may add the recumbent figure of the ex-pope, and former pirate, John XXIII (*d.* 1419) in the fine monument by Michelozzo in the Florentine Baptistery.

(3) Various statues on Giotto's Campanile, viz., on the west side, *John the Baptist*, *David*,² and *Jeremiah* ; on the east, *Abraham* and *Habakkuk*.

(4) The *David* (Bargello) and the *Judith* (Loggia de' Lanzi), bronzes made (*c.* 1432 and 1440) for the first Medicean ruler, Cosimo, and first placed in the *cortile* of that palace (now the Riccardi) the erection of which had been perhaps one cause of his banishment. (See Fig. 47 (*a*) in *Italy from Dante to Tasso*.)

(5) The exceedingly beautiful *Cantoria*, or Choir Gallery, now preserved in the Opera del Duomo. The motive is evidently classical, suggested by Roman reliefs and mosaics in which Cupids are represented.³

¹ *E.g.*, statues of saints and popes, and even equestrian statues (as St Martin at Lucca and Can Grande at Verona), are to be found as façade or monumental adjuncts.

² Called the *Zuccone* (pumpkin, *i.e.*, bald-head)—a favourite of Donatello's. When working at it, says Vasari, he used to exclaim, ‘Talk ! Talk !’

³ In their free movements and their happy and varied expressions these *putti* excel all Roman Amores and Cupidines. Somewhat similar are his *putti* on the external pulpit (*pergamo*) of Prato Cathedral. We may note in passing that a very striking superiority in facial expression characterizes the new Italian sculpture, denoting often a nobility of sentiment of a kind unknown to the



292. GATTAMELATA

By Donatello. *Padua*

Photo Alinari



293. MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD

By Andrea della Robbia. See p. 384

Photo Brogi

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(6) A splendid statue at Padua (finished in 1453) of the famous *condottiere* of the Venetian army, Gattamelata, on horseback—the first equestrian statue in bronze since classical times. A cast of it occupies the centre of the Donatello Hall (Bargello).

(7) A gilded bronze relief on the font of the Siena Cathedral depicting, with others by Ghiberti and Della Quercia, the story of the Baptist (1427). Also the bronze reliefs (scenes from the Passion) on the pulpit of S. Lorenzo, Florence. These were designed by Donatello when an old man of over seventy-five, and were executed mainly by his pupils. They are theatrical and unattractive.

Luca della Robbia, of Florence (1400–82), produced one very remarkable work in sculptured marble—namely, the exceedingly beautiful *Cantoria* made (c. 1431) for the Florentine Cathedral and preserved (as Donatello's) in the Opera del Duomo. Instead of Donatello's classical, cupid-like *putti* we have here chorister-boys singing.

Later in life he also made, in co-operation with Michelozzo, the bronze doors of the New (north) Sacristy—those which saved Lorenzo de' Medici from the daggers of the Pazzi conspirators.¹ But he is chiefly famous for his numerous and often exquisitely lovely modelled high-reliefs in *terra cotta*, which are covered with a glaze, the composition of which was discovered or rediscovered by him and imparted by him as a secret to his nephew Andrea.

The figures of Luca's reliefs² are generally of a pure white, with very few details indicated in colour, against a background of beautiful blue. The subjects are almost always religious, and the loveliest of these works are the simplest—such as represent the Virgin adoring her Child. Apparently Luca, as also Andrea, was quite untouched by the Classical Revival, but, as I have already intimated, his purely religious and Italian art seems to possess far more of that repose which characterizes Greek art—the reposeful pathos, for instance,

ancients. The visage, as index of character, has become of much higher importance than it was in Greek sculpture, where the loss of the face (as in the *Nike* of Paeonius) scarcely seems to detract from the aesthetic effect. Nudity, to which Donatello and Michelangelo reverted, is a classical characteristic.

¹ Some say Lorenzo took refuge in the Old (south) Sacristy; but see *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, pp. 324–325.

² Some fine examples are in the Bargello (National Museum). One of the finest (*Madonna and Child with Saints*) is over the portal of S. Domenico, Perugia. There are reliefs by him (*Resurrection* and *Ascension*) over the doors of the two sacristies of S. Maria del Fiore (the Florentine Cathedral).

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of Greek *stelae* or the Olympian calm of the seated gods in the Parthenon frieze—than is to be found, in spite of his classicism, in Donatello.

Andrea della Robbia added to the somewhat severe style of his uncle an exquisite grace, and he introduced colour more freely, especially in the rich mouldings of flowers and fruits that he used as framework. Everyone knows his delightful *putti* (figures of small children) which adorn the front of Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti (Foundlings' Hospital) in Florence. Some most lovely Madonnas are to be seen in the Museo Nazionale; and in many and many a country church in Tuscany one is shown so-called 'della Robbias,' not a few of which are doubtless by Luca or Andrea, or by Andrea's son, Giovanni (1469-1529?). The works of Giovanni are very numerous. They show a great falling off in repose and dignity. Prettiness takes the place of loveliness. Colours, too, are used without much artistic restraint—so that at times the effect is almost that produced by a market-garden exhibition. One really fine and original work by Giovanni exists—*The Seven Works of Mercy*, an extensive, vividly coloured frieze on the Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoia. It dates from his last years (1525-1529), and is in a style, very realistic and dramatic, entirely different from ordinary 'della Robbias.'

Verrocchio (1435-88) we shall meet later as a painter and as the master of Leonardo da Vinci. As sculptor, he was Donatello's best pupil. But his genius was very different from that of his master. What Vasari, displaying his utter incapacity as an art critic, calls the unoriginal, painfully acquired *maniera dura e crudetta* of Verrocchio was due to what we may perhaps call his *idealism*—to his instinctive rejection of the superfluous and the sensuously attractive—and to the possession of a sovereign power over form, such as was vouchsafed still more fully to his pupil Leonardo. The trend of his genius is shown by his choice of bronze instead of marble, bronze favouring the representation of keen, lithe, sinewy energy in form and feature rather than that Junonian beauty and heavy-limbed Herculean grandeur which such sculptors as Michelangelo attain in marble. In the *Doubting Thomas* (outside Orsanmichele) this charac-

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teristic is neutralized by heavy drapery, but in the *David* (see Fig. 47 (b) in *Italy from Dante to Tasso*) one recognizes it unmistakably; and the equestrian statue of Colleoni (modelled in 1481) is probably the finest work—the most Greek in its self-restrained power—ever produced by any modern artist in bronze.¹

Besides these eight there were six other Tuscan sculptors, some of whom, though clever craftsmen rather than great artists—being more or less blind to the real nature and function of sculpture—did valuable service; for they carried the new enthusiasm and the new technique to other regions of Italy, and in Tuscany they have left us a number of exceedingly charming monuments.

Bernardo Rossellini (1409–64), besides being a distinguished architect, designed some fine architectural tombs. Of these the best is the tomb, in S. Croce, of the famous scholar Leonardo Bruni. It is probably the first example of the well-known type of Renaissance tomb in which the sarcophagus and the reclining figure are surmounted by a deep classic arch in the place of a Gothic tabernacle or curtains, such as we have in the Cosmati tombs. Bernardo's brother, Antonio, was more of a sculptor than an architect. His best-known work is the tomb of the youthful Infante Cardinal James of Portugal in the church of S. Miniato. It was probably Antonio, though some think it was Bernardo, who carved the very attractive *tondo* of the *Madonna del Latte* which is above the tomb, in S. Croce, of the faithful Medicean adherent, Nori, who saved the life of Lorenzo on the occasion of the Pazzi conspiracy.

Desiderio of Settignano (1428–64) was the first of a school of Florentine sculptors whose highest quality is gracefulness. His best work is the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini in S. Croce. His Chapel of the Sacrament in S. Lorenzo is regarded as one of the finest specimens of graceful ornamentation.

Mino of Fiesole (1431–84) is described by Vasari as having outdone the founder of the school in 'elegance' (*più*

¹ See Fig. 294. Evidently suggested by the Gattamelata and possibly designed by Leonardo. It was cast by Leopardi. Two minor works of Verrocchio are (1) the simple but beautiful tomb of Piero Gottoso and his brother, Giovanni, in S. Lorenzo (Old Sacristy), and (2) the well-known *puttino* with the fish in the court of the Palazzo Vecchio.

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graziato); but Vasari was incapable of seeing that Mino's superiority consisted in a real sense for true classic form. This is recognizable in many of the beautiful tombs that he designed—for he, like others of this group of sculptors, produced little else but busts and tombs and decorative reliefs. In the Florentine Badia we have three of his monuments, that of the famous Marquis Ugo being the most interesting; and in Rome he made, as well as much else, the tomb of Paul II (in the *Grotte* of St Peter's), and that of Cardinal Rovere (S. Maria del Popolo), and that of Cardinal Pietro Riario (SS. Apostoli).

The two brothers Giuliano and Benedetto, of the village Maiano, between Fiesole and Settignano, are especially of importance as the architects of the Porta Capuana and the Strozzi Palace, but they were also sculptors; and Benedetto's pulpit in S. Croce, with its five reliefs in the style of Ghiberti depicting scenes from the life of St Francis of Assisi, is often called the most beautiful Renaissance pulpit in Italy. Among a number of tombs and other works by Benedetto (at Florence, Prato, Siena, Faenza, etc.), one, the reredos to the altar of S. Bartoldo, in S. Agostino at San Gimignano, is exceedingly beautiful, though the figures are perhaps a little too 'elegant.'

Another notable Tuscan sculptor of this period was Civitali of Lucca (1435-1501), whose works in the cathedrals of Lucca and of Genoa (especially his statues of Adam and Eve at Genoa) show something more than mere elegance—something like originality and some real perception of the true function of sculpture. A statue of Faith (Bargello) with her gaze uplifted toward the Unseen is certainly of no common type.

The south of Italy at this period produced scarcely any native art, but even the Trecento sculptors from Northern Italy had worked at Naples, where we find some magnificent, though not highly artistic, monumental work, such as the great tomb of King Robert; and in the next century the Neapolitan court as well as the papal (after the return from Avignon and the end of the Schism) began to attract many artists. At Rome, besides that Filarete of whom we have heard as architect at Milan and who about 1430 made the

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fine bronze doors of St Peter's, and besides Mino of Fiesole, we hear of Mino dal Regno (from the Neapolitan 'Regno'), with whom he is sometimes confused. Also the Florentine Antonio del Pollaiuolo—an exquisite goldsmith, a fine medallist, a good second-class painter, and a first-class expert in anatomy¹—is notable as sculptor on account of the two great bronze monuments which he erected in St Peter's for Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII—the last in co-operation with his brother Piero. At Naples Giuliano da Maiano perhaps aided (*c.* 1455) other Northern artists in the building and decoration of Alfonso's triumphal arch, of which we heard in the last chapter, and also designed and decorated the fine Porta Capuana which was erected by Ferdinand I about 1485.

At Milan we have, toward the end of the Quattrocento, the sculptor, Cristoforo Solari, a relative of the architects of this name mentioned above, notable for his monument of Lodovico il Moro and Beatrice; also Pietro di Martino, who had made himself famous at Naples as architect and sculptor, together with Maiano, by his work on the magnificent arch and gateway of Alfonso I.

Finally, at Venice during the Quattrocento, besides a Niccolò of Arezzo who superintended the external sculptures of St Mark's, and the two Florentines who made the tomb of Tommaso Mocenigo—one of the last Gothic tombs at Venice—we find a number of Lombard sculptors, whose headquarters were the Cà d'oro. Of these Rizzo of Verona is best known.² He made the statues of Adam and Eve that stand opposite the Giants' Stair, and the very fine monument to Doge Tron (*d.* 1473) in the Frari church. Then there was Pietro Lombardo—Peter the Lombard—who, together with his relations or comrades, distinguished himself as architect and was one of those sculptors who made Venice toward the end of the Quattrocento celebrated for its magnificent monuments to doges and other great personalities. His mausoleum, with fifteen statues, of Doge

¹ See the notice of his Pazzi conspiracy medal, p. 374*n*.

² There were several of this name, which is perhaps a nickname (= *Riccio*, 'Curly-pate'). Among Venetian sculptors of the Quattrocento should also be mentioned Giovanni and Bartolomeo Buon, whom we know already as architects, and who probably carved the beautiful Porta della Carta (see p. 377*n*.).

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Pietro Mocenigo (*d.* 1476) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo is very impressive, and the tomb that some two years later he, aided by Leopardi, erected in the same church for Doge Vendramin is very fine—in spite of Ruskin's sarcasm.¹ Leopardi also, as we have seen, undertook the casting of Verrocchio's splendid equestrian statue of Colleoni, which stands before this 'Venetian Santa Croce,' and probably designed and executed the fine pedestal on which it was placed. He also made the three great bronze bases for flagstaffs that are to be seen in front of St Mark's.

¹ See *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, p. xxii.



294. BARTOLOMEO COLLEONI

By Verrocchio. See p. 385

Venice

Photo Brogi



295. ANGELIC MUSICIAN
From the great Tabernacolo by Fra Angelico
Florence, Convent of S. Marco
Photo Brogi

CHAPTER III

QUATTROCENTO PAINTING

WE accepted 1425—the year in which Ghiberti began his second bronze door and Brunelleschi began the reconstruction of S. Lorenzo—as a convenient point from which to date the Renaissance. But it is necessary to remember that we should use this word with a difference. In its origin and its earlier stages of development what is termed Renaissance art was to a great extent independent of that revival of enthusiasm for antiquity which in the Cinquecento led to a servile ‘classicism,’ and ended in affectation and grandiosity. The art of the Quattrocento was to a large extent an original manifestation of native genius. As in the Early Renaissance architecture of Brunelleschi, and in the sculpture of Donatello, so also in the works of the greater Quattrocento painters the formative spirit was almost purely Italian.

After a few observations on the nature of this Quattrocento painting, and the influence exercised on it by the Renaissance, I shall discriminate the various schools and give what information space permits about some of the chief artists and their works.

* * * * *

A fact that strikes one at the outset is the great number of these painters in comparison with the sculptors. This is, of course, to be accounted for partly by the fact that a painter can produce something fairly effective with far less labour and expense than that necessary for the sculptor. But there is another reason. Painting is a very much better medium than sculpture for expressing, as far as they can be expressed in art, the emotions and imaginings of the modern spirit—those infinitely various lights and shadows and colours (if we may thus use Shelley’s splendid simile) which have

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been produced by the impinging of the 'white radiance' on the countless variety of modern life and modern thought.

And this not only accounts for the great number of painters at this epoch, when the intellectual lethargy of the Middle Ages was beginning to pass rapidly away; it also seems to account for certain characteristics of Quattrocento painting, among which we may note the tendency, now becoming general, to abandon pure, sculpturesque outline, and to adopt the artifices of modelling, misty outlines, aerial perspective, effects of light and shade and so forth, in order better to indicate the aspect and relations of natural objects, to intimate distances and vast spaces and vistas into the infinite, and to suggest motion in a manner entirely alien to sculpture.

Again, the Renaissance originated in that longing for emancipation from the shackles of the past which is probably felt by every new generation, and which now and then, favoured by special conditions, succeeds in realizing its ideals—not always to the world's advantage. The ideals in this case were joy and liberty and personality, liberation from medieval asceticism, medieval priestcraft, medieval dogma; liberation from the anathema that had rested on the natural rights of man—on freedom of thought and of moral judgment; liberation from traditional law and self-constituted authority, and the restoration to the individual of intellectual and moral self-rule.

The result in the case of Quattrocento painting is very marked. The new ideals are visible everywhere. Ever since the extinction of pagan art, painting and mosaics had been almost entirely subservient to ecclesiasticism. The new enthusiasm, although by no means anti-Christian in its higher moods, asserted in rivalry with the Church its rightful claims; and art, as Morelli says, to no small extent abandoned the houses of God for the houses of men. Frescos of Paradise and Hell, and of religious subjects such as Giotto and his followers were engaged by the clergy to paint on walls of churches and cloisters, now become rare,¹ while in altar-pieces and other 'religious' pictures are found numerous signs of the new era: firstly, personality and 'naturalism' assert

¹ The diffusion of books and prints doubtless contributed to this.

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themselves by the introduction of many actual portraits, not only among spectators, but also in guise of Madonnas, angels, Apostles, saints, Magi, and so forth; secondly, joy in nature itself is evidenced by exquisite surroundings and backgrounds unknown, or only slightly suggested, in earlier paintings; thirdly, delight in colour and form, and also in sound, is manifested by beautiful, varied, rich, and sometimes magnificent dresses—offering very striking contrasts to the sombre, ungainly, uniform garb to be seen in Trecento paintings¹—and by frequent appearance of such symbols of enjoyment as musical instruments.² Lastly, we have far greater beauty of figure and features and far greater happiness in expression.

But besides 'religious' pictures we find now works of a very different nature, not produced for pious objects or to impose the doctrines and legends of the Church on superstitious ignorance, but to adorn the palaces of the rich, or, more rarely, the council-halls of the people—portraits, *genre* paintings, scenes of battle, of historical events, and of grand ceremonies, allegorical and mythological pictures (such as the *Primavera* and the *Birth of Venus*); and in all these

¹ *E.g.*, Giotto's frescos at Assisi and in S. Croce. That fine dresses and music were in vogue among gay young Florentines about 1350 is shown by the famous Campo Santo fresco at Pisa. Fil. Villani attributes the new and luxurious fashions to the reaction after the plague of 1348—which is symbolized by Death in this fresco. In the Uffizi portrait of old Giovanni di Bicci, father of Cosimo de' Medici (*c.* 1420), we still find the cassock-like garb common in Dante's age; but by about 1390, it is said, the new fashion of gay apparel was common, and during the Quattrocento it developed great richness and variety, such as we see in pictures of Botticelli, the Lippi, Benozzo Gozzoli, the Bellini, Mantegna, Ghirlandaio, Pinturicchio, and others. Even in his scenes of Heaven Fra Angelico depicts dresses more varied and beautiful than those of any ballroom. The letters of Beatrice and Isabella d'Este are often as full of dress and jewels and all sorts of finery as a ladies' newspaper's description of a royal reception. In the *Cortegiano* (ii) there is an interesting passage on the rage for individualism in dress (*c.* 1506).

² In medieval art there are very few evidences of music, though one hears of church music (Gregorian, Ambrosian, etc.) and of the famous Guido of Arezzo (*c.* 1000–50), who invented modern notation; but from the Trecento onward we have musical instruments often represented. All will remember Giotto's (or Andrea Pisano's) Campanile relief of Jubal; the Pisan fresco of the young Florentines making merry; Fra Angelico's angel choirs; Melozzo's, Rosselli's, Giambellini's, and Carpaccio's music-making cherubs or *putti*; Raphael's *Violinist* and his *St Cecilia*. In his *Parnassus* (Stanze) Raphael has depicted in the guise of Apollo a contemporary musician, Sansecolo, who was the Moro's favourite court violinist at Milan. By the way, Leonardo da Vinci first came to the Moro's court as musician and as maker of a certain lute of remarkable qualities.

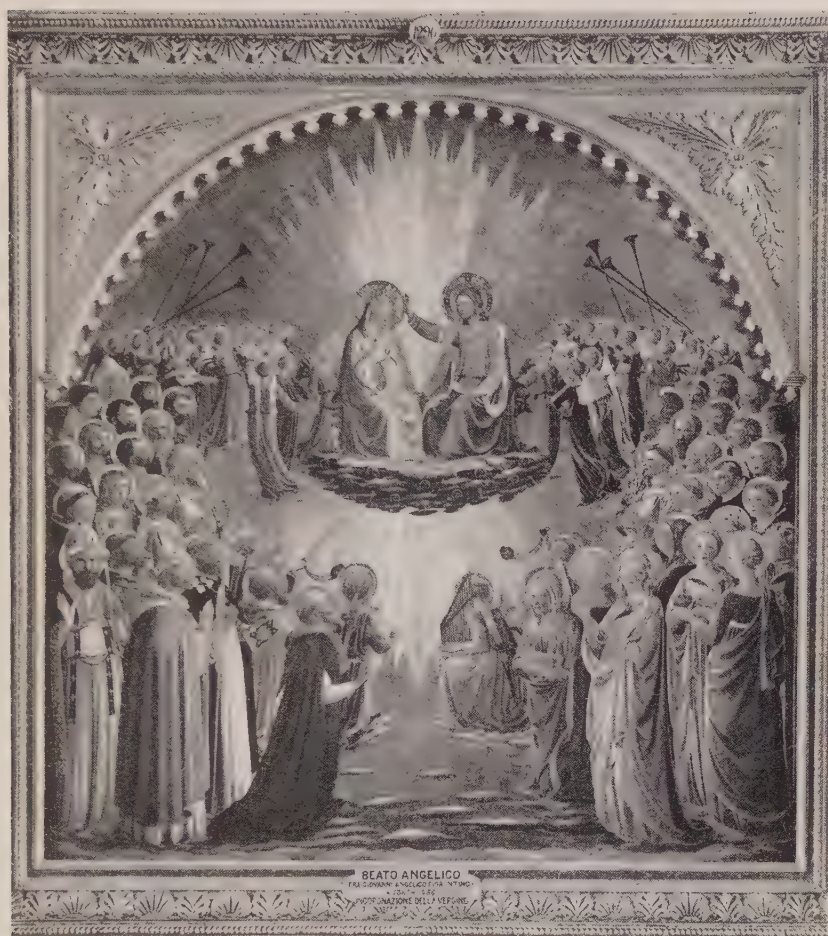
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we find the same personal and naturalistic qualities, and the same delight in liberty, in beauty, and in magnificence that we have already noted as so characteristic of all Renaissance painting. But, on the other hand, we should note that, although this enthusiasm for liberty and joy released the Renaissance artist from dreary vassalage to the Church, it too often gave him over to another, and perhaps drearier, bondage—the service of the rich patron or the despot, political or pontifical; for it was but comparatively rarely, and more rarely in Florence than in some other Italian cities (Venice, for instance), that art was permitted to exercise the function of inspiring patriotism and educating the people. It remained, as has been well said, essentially *un' arte signorile e cortigiana*.¹

As regards technique, although Quattrocento painting did not arrive at the exquisite modelling and chiaroscuro that we find in the next century, remaining still somewhat flat, hard-outlined, and wanting in contrasts, it enjoyed three great advantages—first, a much more thorough knowledge of anatomy than that possessed by such artists as Niccolò Pisano and Giotto; second, the knowledge of linear perspective, the laws of which were discovered, or anyhow first taught and applied scientifically, by Paolo Uccello (c. 1430); third, the use of oil. This was known as a medium in Florence as early as the days of Andrea del Castagno, or even those (c. 1400) in which Cennini wrote his tractate on painting, but genuine oil-painting, discovered perhaps by van Eyck of Bruges, was used (say Crowe and Cavalcaselle) only tentatively during the greater part of the Quattrocento by Florentine artists, many of whose works are executed partly in *tempera* and partly in oil. It was adopted, with very brilliant results, by the Bellini and other Venetians; but this was not until about 1473, when, according to the not very trustworthy statement of Vasari, it was (again?) introduced from the Netherlands by Antonello da Messina.

* * * * *

¹ Natali and Vitelli (*Storia d'Arte*). The celebrated designs of Leonardo and Michelangelo (not to mention Vasari!) for the decoration of the great council-hall in the Palazzo Vecchio were about the only employment of art by the Florentine State—except effigies of traitors!

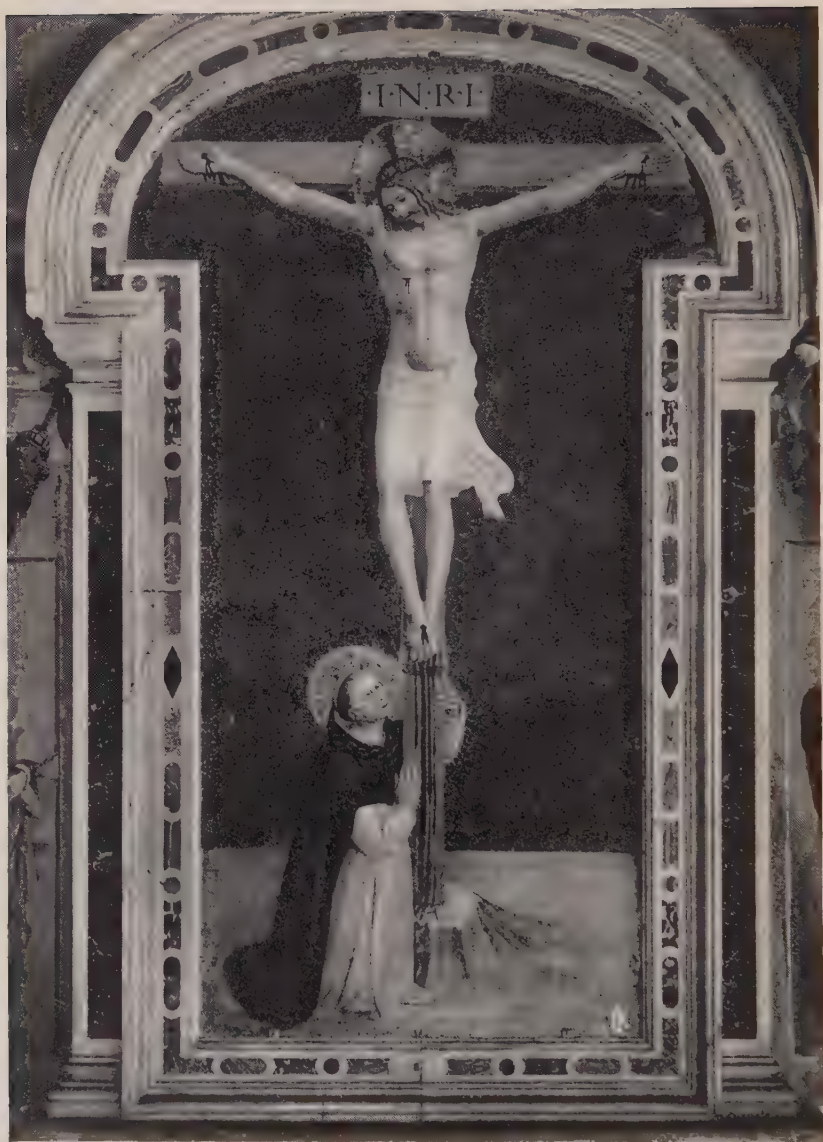


296. CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

By Fra Angelico

Florence, Convent of S. Marco

Photo Alinari



297. CRUCIFIXION, WITH ST DOMINIC KNEELING BY THE CROSS

By Fra Angelico

Florence, Cloister of S. Marco

Photo Brogi

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An Italian painting of the Quattrocento, says Morelli, speaks its native dialect. In order to be sure that we understand such a picture we should, as far as possible, learn its dialect—become to some extent acquainted with the history and natural surroundings of the artist's native or adopted home, and with his artistic, social, political, religious, and perhaps his climatic environment : for without accepting the conclusions of a Buckle and a Taine in regard to the serious moral and artistic responsibilities of climate, we may allow that it does affect a painter's methods. We see this indeed plainly when comparing Flemish with Italian, or Venetian with Florentine, or Florentine with Neapolitan pictures ; and still more clearly when comparing the vapoury Italian scenery of a Turner with the background of a Perugino, a Leonardo, or a Titian ; and most clearly of all perhaps when we look at some modern befogged Northern water-colour of, say, Rome from the Gianicolo or Naples from Posilipo.

We have in the Quattrocento at least four distinct and important schools of Italian painters. Some of the chief artists of these schools, and some of their chief works, I shall now attempt to characterize with a few words.

(a) Florence and Tuscany

The art of Fra Angelico (1387-1455), says Mr Symonds, may be likened to a lakelet lying apart from the main stream of the Renaissance—a lakelet, we might add, whose waters, golden with heaven's light and overarched by its cloudless blue, are embosomed amidst countless flowers. Although as a youth he was a pupil of Starnina (the master also of Masolino) and adopted to some extent Lorenzo Monaco's methods of colouring, what was essential in his style owed nothing until his later days to other painters, nor did any other succeed in learning it.

Il Beato Angelico, as he was later called, was born in the Mugello (the Sieve valley) not far from Giotto's birth-place. His original name was Guido, but at the age of twenty he entered the convent of the Dominicans near Fiesole and was henceforth known as Fra Giovanni da Fiesole. While he was spending his novitiate at Cortona the whole

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of the brotherhood migrated thither because the Florentine Signoria had recognized the schismatic Pope, Alexander V; and during the ten years of their sojourn at Cortona he produced various works (few of which remain) in which the design shows the influence of Starnina and the brilliant colouring that of Lorenzo Monaco. But in 1417 the Council of Constanz put an end to the Great Schism and the friars returned to their convent and church of S. Domenico (near Fiesole), where Angelico during the next seventeen years painted all the beautiful altar-pieces, triptychs, predellas, etc., which represent his first important period. In 1434 Cosimo de' Medici returned from exile and at once commissioned his favourite architect, Michelozzo, to rebuild the old Silvestrine monastery of S. Marco, and the new building was handed over to the Dominicans of Fiesole, who accordingly migrated thither. From 1434 to 1446 Fra Giovanni painted much, especially the beautiful frescos still preserved in the Convent (now Museum) of S. Marco. He was then, when about sixty years of age, summoned to Rome by Pope Eugenius (who had lived for years at Florence), and on the death of Eugenius he was much employed by the art-loving Pope Nicholas V. Of all his Roman work nothing remains but the frescos that adorn what is called the 'Studio' of Nicholas V in the Vatican. After a visit to Florence in 1450, when he was elected Prior of S. Marco, he seems to have been recalled to Rome, where, in 1455, he died.¹

In his earlier style, with which we generally associate his name, we may note two phases. In one we have a kind of enlarged *miniatura*² with exquisitely painted scenes, often of a visionary, dazzling, shadowless world where the splendours of light and colour and sound—of gold and jewels and gleaming apparel and triumphal music—symbolize the glories of a heaven beyond human imagination. The other

¹ His tomb is in S. Maria sopra Minerva. On it is a Latin epitaph, said to have been written by Pope Nicholas—though he died just six days after Angelico.

² His brother, Fra Benedetto, was a famous *miniature*. Many of the illuminated ritual books kept under glass in the otherwise empty library of S. Marco (Florence) are his work. The best of Angelico's earlier altar-pieces (c. 1430) are the two *Coronations of the Virgin*—one in the Louvre (stolen by Napoleon from S. Domenico di Fiesole), and the other lately removed to S. Marco from the Uffizi. The great triptych (*Tabernacolo*), also in S. Marco, shows a somewhat ineffectual effort to attain grandeur, but the small music-making angels at the sides of the central figures are justly popular, being of exquisite grace and beauty.



298. PREACHING OF ST STEPHEN, AND ST STEPHEN BEFORE THE HIGH PRIEST

By Fra Angelico. *Rome, Vatican*

Photo Alinari



299. ADAM AND EVE
By Masaccio
Florence, S. Maria del Carmine
Photo Brogi

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phase is different, not in conception so much as in presentation, the difference being mainly due to the fact that he here uses fresco.¹ In these wondrously beautiful frescos by Angelico the pure, serene, transparent colours and soft, ethereal outlines attain effects almost equal to those that Dante attains in his *Paradiso*. Of such pictures the cloister and the cells of S. Marco's monastery contain the finest examples.² The later, Roman, style of Angelico was doubtless inspired by Masaccio's Carmine frescos. The wall-paintings in the Oratory or 'Studio' of Pope Nicholas V (which are unfortunately the only relics of his artistic activity at Rome during about six years) show such completely new methods in drawing, in composition, and in colouring that it would be impossible to recognize them as work of the painter of the Louvre or S. Marco *Coronation*, or the *Tabernacolo*. The dramatic designs, the colouring, and the vividly expressed emotions of the actors in these scenes from the life of St Stephen and of St Lawrence reveal a change of style so total as to be perhaps unique in the history of painting. In spite, however, of Angelico's genius and in spite of his evident study of Masaccio's frescos and of anatomy, he does not succeed in the delineation of the human figure. The difference between the best of the figures in these Roman wall-paintings and the best, whether draped or nude, in the Carmine frescos is very striking indeed.

Masaccio in his short life (1400-28) produced works that proved the beginning of a new era for Italian painting—the era of imaginative grandeur and beauty combined with realistic truth—of art wedded to science. Masolino is called his master and is highly praised by Vasari for his modelling and his *dolcezza* in female portraiture; but Vasari did not know the genuine work of Masolino at Castiglione Olona, which proves him to have been immeasurably inferior to Masaccio. However, experts still differ as to what parts, if any, of the famous frescos in the Carmine church (Florence)

¹ The influence of Masaccio is already perceptible in the S. Marco frescos, but the Roman style is of quite another type.

² At S. Domenico di Fiesole is an early, much-ruined *Crucifixion* (with, as usual, a fair-haired Christ) which evidently contains the original idea of the large and exceedingly beautiful *Crucifixion* in the cloister of S. Marco.

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and in S. Clemente (Rome) should be attributed to the elder painter. These Carmine frescos were most zealously studied by many artists, among whom were Michelangelo and Raphael. It is asserted that Raphael copied them seven times; and while copying them, it is said, Michelangelo received from his fellow-pupil, Torreggiani, the savage blow that broke his nose. Most of us know the *Adam and Eve* under the Tree of Knowledge (by some attributed to Masolino) and the more dramatic *Expulsion from Eden*, the Eve of which was used by Raphael for a similar picture in the Loggia at Rome. Especially wonderful—immeasurably removed by its intimation of the dignity of the human face and body, and by its powerful composition, from any Giottesque art—is the *Tribute Money*; nor less wonderful are the *Healing of the Sick* and the *Raising of Tabitha*. Masaccio was probably still (1426–27) occupied with his Carmine frescos (finished later by Filippino Lippi) when, perhaps moved by the Roman experiences of his great friend Brunelleschi, now building S. Lorenzo and the dome of the Florentine Cathedral, he suddenly went off to the Eternal City, and there he is said to have died. Perhaps Vasari has best summed up what can be said of Masaccio's art, namely that all human figures painted by earlier artists were merely pictures, but his were living people. Vasari seems, however, to have thought his own performances better than Masaccio's, for he covered over that painter's fine fresco of the *Trinity* (in S. Maria Novella) with a poor daub of his own. The fresco has been removed to the south wall, and is much damaged.

Paolo di Dono, called 'Uccello,' and Andrea del Castagno belonged to the new Naturalist school,¹ of which the short-lived Masaccio was the first great luminary. Paolo was the painter of the *terra verde* fresco (now on canvas) in the Florentine Duomo representing the great English *condottiere*, Sir John Hawkwood, on his charger—the first really artistic

¹ Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Ghiberti warmly supported the young Naturalist painters, whose aims are exceedingly well expressed by Ghiberti when he says that he himself made it his one object 'to discover how nature is revealed in art and how natural forms really present themselves to the eye.' ('Naturalism,' however, generally refers also to choice and treatment of subject.) Note that all these fellow-artists of Masaccio lived to enjoy long the patronage of Cosimo, but that *he* died before Cosimo came to the front.



300. THE JOURNEY OF THE MAGI

By Benozzo Gozzoli

Florence, Palazzo Riccardi

Photo Brogi



301. THE BAPTISM
By Verrocchio. *Florence, Uffizi*
Photo Anderson

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picture of a horse in modern art. I have mentioned him already as devoted to the study of perspective. He also delighted in studying and depicting animals, especially birds—whence his nickname. One of his most famous works was a battle between lions and serpents painted for Lorenzo the Magnificent. Battle scenes in which horses were conspicuous were a speciality of his. One such picture is in our National Gallery. His masterpiece was the now much ruined *terra verde* fresco of the Deluge in the Green Cloister of S. Maria Novella. In this is vigorously indicated the tragic helplessness of human beings against the powers of nature; but even in this, his greatest, work he does not rise above accuracy and strenuousness.

Andrea del Castagno (whose knowledge of the oil medium has been already noted) was perhaps the greater artist of the two, for nothing of Paolo's rivals Andrea's *Last Supper* (one of his later works) in conception and composition. This, as well as most of his other extant works, including full-length portraits (somewhat imaginative) of Petrarca and Boccaccio, is now to be seen in the Museum, once the Refectory, of S. Apollonia, in Florence. We possess in our National Gallery a *Crucifixion* by him. Vigorous design, striking chiaroscuro, and a tendency to coarseness, or even brutality, are his chief characteristics. Two later works of his are a rather dramatic *St George* in a little church above the seaside townlet of Levanto, and the rather unattractive *terra verde* equestrian portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino, which in the Florentine Duomo fails to hold its own in rivalry with the *John Hawkwood* of Paolo Uccello.

Filippo Lippi (1406-69) being an orphan was brought up at the Carmine convent. He took vows as a Carmelite friar, but having developed gifts as a painter (under Lorenzo Monaco and Masaccio, who about 1424 began his frescos in the Carmelite church) he found monasticism unpalatable. So he betook himself to a wandering life, and, if we can believe Vasari and others, he was captured by Moorish corsairs near Ancona and spent some years (c. 1431-34) as a captive in North Africa. We find him then at Florence, patronized by Cosimo (himself just returned from exile) and producing a great number of religious pictures, although

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living in anything but a religious fashion. From about 1456 to 1464 he resided at Prato, occupied mainly with his famous frescos—the Stories of the Baptist and St Stephen. Here he incited the nun Lucrezia Buti to live with him as his mistress, until finally Pope Pius II made the offer (perhaps rejected by the painter) to absolve them both from their vows and recognize their marriage. His last great work was the frescos at Spoleto, where he died, and is buried. He differed very much from his unimaginative, scientific-naturalistic contemporaries, such as Paolo Uccello, and also from Masaccio, whose powerful and vivid realism seems not to have appealed to his more delicately aesthetic nature; for, in spite of the dramatic element in some of his works (as the celebrated *Herod's Feast* and *Dance of Salome* at Prato, so much admired by Michelangelo), his tendency was toward what is bright and beautiful in nature and gentle and lovely in humanity, as one sees especially in the very gracious type that he chose for his Madonnas—a type that he seems to have found so attractive in the person of Lucrezia.

Benozzo Gozzoli was a clever pupil of Fra Angelico, whose companion he was for years at Rome and elsewhere. He acquired extraordinary skill in design, vivid colour, elaborate scenery, and realistic portraiture, as displayed in his famous *Journey of the Magi* in the Medici (Riccardi) Palace. In the Pisan Campo Santo¹ and at San Gimignano there are large and interesting frescos by him (Old Testament subjects and the Life of St Augustine) which reveal very considerable ability as story-teller. He seems to have adopted the later style of his master, such as we see in Angelico's Roman frescos. As a student of the new scientific methods he is somewhat the superior of Angelico, whose attempts to depict the human body, whether at rest or in motion, were elementary; but he is totally lacking in all that gives value to the art of Angelico.

Verrocchio (1435–88) has occupied our attention as a sculptor. As painter he is notable chiefly because he was a teacher of Perugino and the sole teacher of Leonardo da

¹ His twenty-three big frescos fill a great part of the north wall. He lies buried close to the Joseph fresco.



302. THE 'MAGNIFICAT' MADONNA

By Botticelli. *Florence, Uffizi*

Photo Brogi



303. LA PRIMAVERA

By Botticelli. Florence, Pitti

Photo Alinari

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Vinci. His mastery in anatomical knowledge drew him toward sculpture rather than painting, which by him was evidently used for experiment rather than for accomplishment. 'He designed and began to paint many cartoons,' says Vasari, 'but always left them unfinished.' Various female portraits, an *Annunciation* in the Uffizi (perhaps by his pupil Leonardo), a *Madonna and Child* in our National Gallery, and another at Berlin, have been attributed to him, but the only picture known certainly to be his is the *Baptism* (lately removed from the Accademia to the Uffizi) in which, tradition asserts, a beautiful kneeling angel was painted by Leonardo. The spare, almost ascetically meagre, figure and the intense expression that we see in this picture are used by Verrocchio also in his sculpture (e.g., his *David*) and are traceable also in Leonardo.

The life and works of Botticelli (1446-1510) have large connexion with Lorenzo de' Medici and the poet Poliziano, and most of his pictures have historical interest. As a youth he worked under Filippo Lippi at Prato and Florence. He soon attracted the notice of Lorenzo. It was probably about this time that he painted some of his religious pictures, such as the *Virgin of the Magnificat*. In 1474 we find him with Benozzo Gozzoli at Pisa. On his return he evidently became strongly influenced by the classical enthusiasm prevalent at the Medicean court, and it was then, shortly after the famous Tournament (*Giostra*) of 1475, that he produced the *Primavera* and the *Birth of Venus*, drawing his inspiration from Poliziano's *Stanze*.¹ Then, about 1480, we have the return of Lorenzo from Naples and Botticelli's very beautiful *Pallas and the Centaur*—a symbol of Lorenzo's triumph over his foes; then, probably, the *Magi*, in which the chief Medici of three generations are pictured, and the fine portrait (in the Uffizi) of Giovanni, the handsome and ill-fated son of Cosimo, and the *St Augustine* in Ognissanti church, which the *St Jerome* of Ghirlandaio on the opposite wall vainly attempts to rival. From 1481 to 1483 Botticelli was at Rome with Perugino, Rosselli, and Ghirlandaio, occupied in painting the well-known frescos (the *Story of*

¹ A full account of these and the following pictures is given in *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, pp. xx, 330, 388-390, *et al.*

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Moses) in the Sistine Chapel. After his return he produced some beautiful altar-pieces, of which perhaps the finest is the *Madonna with the Two St Johns*, painted for Brunelleschi's newly completed church of S. Spirito, but now, alas! in Berlin. In 1489 Savonarola began to exercise his wondrous influence in Florence, and, as Fra Bartolomeo later, Botticelli was one of those artists and scholars attached to the Medicean court who were deeply impressed by the denunciations of the courageous Frate. He may not have actually burnt any of his works—for none were tainted with licentiousness—but his paintings henceforth were of a more grave and earnest character. Amongst these we have the interesting *Adoration of the Child Jesus*¹ and, painted after Savonarola's martyrdom in 1498, the strange allegorical picture of *Calumny* (founded on Lucian's account of a picture by the Greek painter Apelles and evidently directed against the calumniators of the great Frate), and the *Nativity*, a most interesting picture (in our National Gallery), in which angels are welcoming to heaven Savonarola and his fellow-martyrs.² During his last ten years Botticelli, living in great seclusion, usually perhaps on his little *podere* outside the Porta S. Frediano, devoted much of his time to Dante, to illustrate whose great poem he made eighty-four drawings—most of them (once more alas!) now in Berlin. One of the few facts that we know connected with the last stage of his life is that in 1504 he, together with Leonardo da Vinci and other artists, chose the site in front of the Palazzo Vecchio where Michelangelo's *David* stood for nigh 370 years—until, in 1873, it was removed to the Accademia.

Filippino Lippi (1457-1504), the son of Fra Filippo and Lucrezia Buti, was a pupil of Botticelli. He made his

¹ Designed by Botticelli but coarsely painted in the seventeenth century. It represents the Florentine magistrates and other notabilities (among them perhaps Leonardo da Vinci) adoring the Infant Christ. A Dominican monk (evidently Savonarola) is pointing out the Child to Lorenzo—possibly an allusion to the dramatic scene between these two at the end of Lorenzo's life. The Florentines chose Jesus Christ as their King probably twice—once after Piero's expulsion (1495), and a second time in 1528, just before the siege and the overthrow of the republic, when over the entrance of the Palazzo Vecchio was placed an inscription, *Jesus Christus rex Florentini populi*. This was altered by Duke Cosimo I into *rex regum*.

² The long Greek inscription on the picture gives 1500 as the date and refers us to St John's Revelation vii-viii.



304. MADONNA IN ADORATION

By Filippino Lippi

Florence, Uffizi

Photo Brogi



305. ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

By Domenico del Ghirlandaio

Photo Brogi

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reputation by the very successful way in which, at the age of twenty-seven, he finished and added to the frescos of Masaccio in the Carmine church. But his greatness lay in another direction. It is his undramatic, contemplative, religious pictures—his Madonnas especially, and his angels—that bring us his supreme message and are of permanent value, rather than these dramatic and realistic frescos, or those in S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome, or those in the Strozzi Chapel at Florence. There is in the Uffizi a large and ambitious painting of his—an *Adoration of the Magi* with about thirty figures—that is historically very interesting, for it contains portraits of some of the younger branch of the Medicean family; but many of us would probably select a very different picture as his master-work—that fast-fading vision of the Virgin amidst child-angels which may yet be seen in a street-tabernacle near the Convent of S. Margherita at Prato. It is one of his later works (1498), but—influenced perhaps by scenes of his childhood—he seems to have reverted to the type which attracts us by its gentle beauty in some of his earlier fair-haired Madonnas, and which possibly may have been derived from memories of his mother—once a nun in this Prato convent. This type may be seen in the well-known *Vision of St Bernard* (Badia) and the *Madonna in Adoration*, in the Uffizi—a picture of great beauty, with a landscape veiled in blue mist.

Ghirlandaio (1449-94) produced a multitude of works—all but one of a more or less 'religious' nature.¹ Many are interesting on account of realistic portraits of contemporaries whom he introduced in the guise of Biblical and ecclesiastical personages. He was evidently influenced strongly by Flemish art. His skill in the imitation of externalities—clothes, upholstery, finery of all sorts, pots and pans and all kinds of utensils, etc., etc.—is astounding. He would probably have beaten Parrhasius himself at painting deceptive curtains. This imitative skill is at times subordinated to a noble dignity in conception and composition, whereby real artistic value is lent to some

¹ His delight in mere production was such that he longed to be able to cover all the city-walls of Florence with his frescos.

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of his pictures, such as the fine *Adoration of the Shepherds* (SS. Trinità) and the *Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew* (Sistine Chapel). But this is rare, and the best that can be said of such productions as the S. Fina frescos at San Gimignano, the St Jerome of the Ognissanti frescos in Florence, and the big and much belauded frescos painted over works of Orcagna in the choir of S. Maria Novella, or those in SS. Trinità, is that they sometimes almost rival the best realistic imitation that one sees in modern academies and salons, and that it is really interesting to see what Landino, Poliziano, Ficino, Giovanna Tornabuoni, and other celebrated people of the day looked like—including the artist himself and possibly also Amerigo Vespucci, from whom America derived its name.

Ghirlandaio died of the plague at the early age of forty-four. Among his pupils were Michelangelo and Granacci, a clever painter, whose picture in the Uffizi of the entry of Charles VIII into Florence is valuable historically.

(b) Umbria and the Marche

At the beginning of the Quattrocento we find in Umbria, and in the beautiful and mountainous country to the north-east of Perugia and Assisi, a school of painting distinguished by a tranquil and somewhat serious beauty which—although it may have been suggested by Siennese art and influenced by Fra Angelico—has a character of its own. The chief early Umbrian artist was Gentile da Fabriano, one of whose master-works, the *Adoration of the Magi*, has lately been transferred to the Uffizi. While still a young man he was several years at Venice, where he decorated the Doges' Palace. From him Jacopo Bellini learnt the new and beautiful Umbrian method, which having developed a specially Venetian type (as was ever the case in Venice) became the characteristic style of the Bellini school.

The second great Umbrian-Marchian painter was Piero della Francesca (c. 1423-92), born near the Tuscan frontier, amid the Apennines east of Arezzo. He studied first, perhaps, under Gentile, and then under Domenico Veneziano at Perugia and at Florence, where he became a friend of

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Andrea del Castagno.¹ His easel paintings, especially his portraits, as that in the Uffizi Gallery of Duke Frederic of Urbino (whose broken nose was due to a tournament), are sometimes of pure Umbrian workmanship, as exquisitely elaborated as those by Perugino himself, and his landscape backgrounds are of Peruginesque beauty. But at Florence he adopted the bolder 'naturalism' of Domenico and of Andrea and of Paolo Uccello, and studied zealously (as did later Raphael and Michelangelo) the frescos of Masaccio. He thus acquired skill in two styles; and these two exceedingly diverse styles—almost, indeed, as diverse as the two styles of Fra Angelico: one intensely vigorous, plastic, and dramatic, and the other tranquil and attitudinizing—were manifested vividly in two famous Umbrians who were both, probably, his pupils, Signorelli of Cortona—the 'forerunner of Michelangelo'—and Perugino, who, as all know, taught Raphael.²

Some of the paintings of Signorelli (*e.g.*, his scenes from the life of Moses in the Sistine Chapel and the frescos at Orvieto—called by Morelli the grandest of all Quattrocento paintings) display an almost Michelangelesque *terribilità*. They show, it is true, no trace of Michelangelo's sublimity, but they are intensely interesting, in the way of contrast, as being the works of a fellow-pupil of Perugino (who, however, himself became un-Peruginesque in his later days) and as being the Umbrian development of the grand Florentine style founded by Masaccio—that style which by sublimity as well as by mere *terribilità* was destined to dominate Italian pictorial art and to cause even Raphael himself to feel its influence.

Perugino, at first a pupil of Piero della Francesca, when twenty years of age left Umbria for Florence, where he was a fellow-pupil with Leonardo da Vinci in the studio of Verrocchio. About 1482, at the age of thirty-six or so, he painted

¹ At Florence the oil medium was now being adopted by Domenico and Andrea. The fresco of Sigismondo by Piero in the Tempio Malatestiano (built by Alberti) at Rimini is famous.

² Raphael's first master (before Viti) was his own father, Giovanni Santi, who was probably a follower of Piero, if not a fellow-pupil of Signorelli and Perugino in Piero's studio. Another fine painter, Melozzo of Forlì (not far south of Ravenna), was an intimate friend of Piero's, or possibly for a time his pupil. We shall meet him in the Lombard-Emilian school.

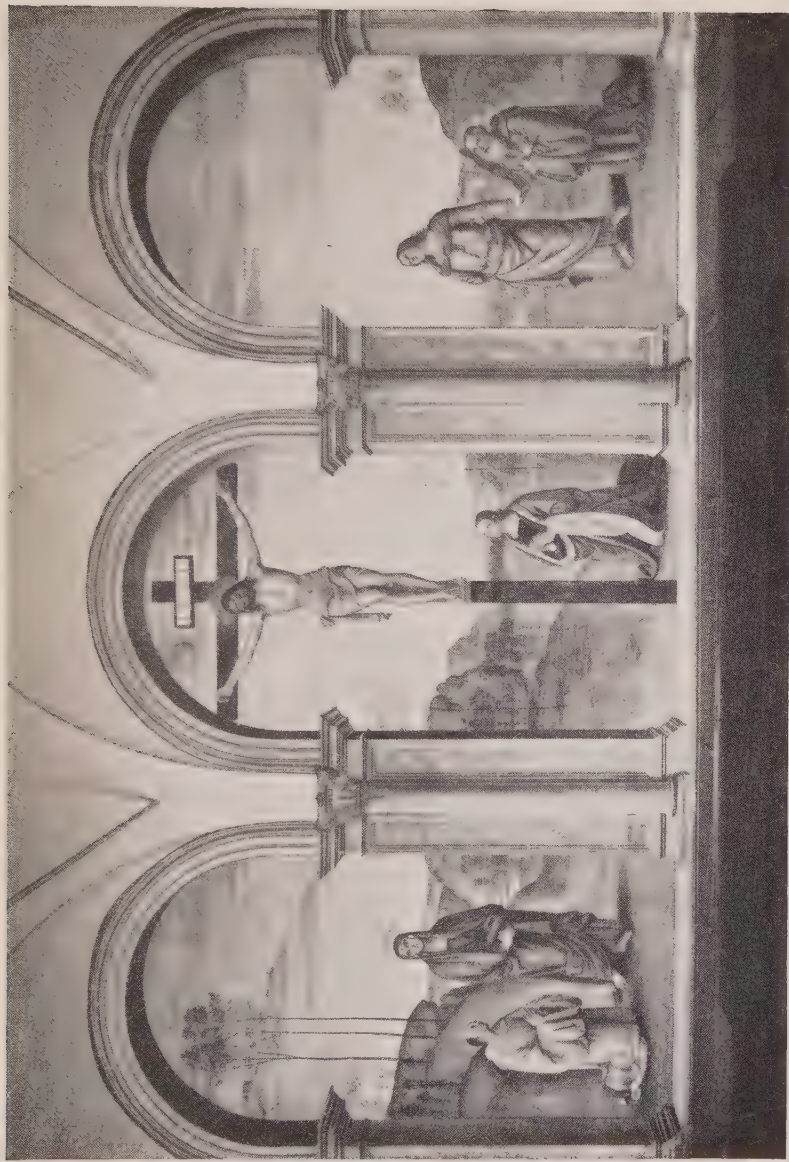
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his exquisitely designed fresco in the Sistine Chapel at Rome (*St Peter receiving the Keys*), the motive and background of which are used by Raphael in his *Sposalizio*. In 1493 he settled in Florence. With some of his many easel pictures—wondrous portraits and pathetic altar-pieces, full of serene beauty—almost everybody is familiar, and those who know Florence will remember works of bolder design, such as the *Deposition* in the Pitti and the *Assumption* in the Uffizi, as well as the fine frescos in S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the convent of S. Onofrio. Also at Perugia there are noteworthy frescos. It is sometimes urged to his discredit that in later life he, with his pupils, turned out a great deal for mere profit. He seems to have had regular picture-shops in Florence and Perugia.

Pinturicchio of Perugia (1454-1513) may have studied in his younger days under Perugino, who was his senior by eight years, but there is in his paintings no trace whatever of Peruginesque mysticism and serenity. He was a skilful decorator and portrait-painter rather than a great artist. In Perugia, Orvieto, Spoleto, and other cities frescos of his exist. At Rome, where for some time he worked in association with Perugino, he decorated various churches and painted two large frescos in the Sistine Chapel (*Moses leaving Egypt* and the *Baptism of Christ*), introducing many portraits of his contemporaries—a practice hitherto avoided by Umbrian artists. He was then commissioned by the notorious Pope Alexander VI to adorn various rooms of the Vatican, especially the so-called Borgia Apartments, the walls of which he covered (with the help of pupils) in the space of two years (1492-94) with very extensive frescos of great magnificence—a wondrous conglomeration of elements sacred and profane.¹ These frescos, which were much injured during the sack of Rome in 1527, and have been ruthlessly repainted by a German, still offer us interesting portraits of Pope Alexander, Lucrezia Borgia, and other celebrities of that ill-famed period.

The finest work of Pinturicchio is at Siena. Here in

¹ Vasari tells us that 'over the door of one room Pinturicchio painted Giulia Farnese'—the Pope's openly acknowledged mistress—'as a Madonna being adored by Alexander VI.' This picture seems to exist no longer.



306. CRUCIFIXION
Fresco by Perugino
In chapter-house of S. Maria de' Passi, Florence
Photo Alinari



307. PROCESSION IN THE PIAZZA OF ST MARK'S

By Gentile Bellini

Photo Alinari

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the Biblioteca Piccolomini (in connexion with the Duomo) are to be seen ten frescos in which he, commissioned by Cardinal Piccolomini (later Pius III), depicted episodes from the life of the learned and active Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who as Pope Pius II had distinguished himself by endeavouring, in too late a day, to get up a Crusade against the Turks. This work was executed in 1502-6, and it is, in spite of recent criticism, quite possible that the young Raphael may at that time have been in Siena and may have helped in designing these frescos, which most assuredly show both a beauty in composition and Perugin-esque qualities that are to be found in no other works of Pinturicchio.

(c) Venice and Padua

Venetian painting has been dubbed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and others with the epithet 'ornamental.' This is surely very superficial criticism. Far nearer the mark, I think, is the affirmation of Pater that no artists have apprehended more unerringly than the Venetian the real nature and possibilities of pictorial art—a statement which seems confirmed by the glow of satisfaction, aesthetic if not intellectual, that one feels when one enters the Venetian Room in a picture gallery. It is true that the object of much Venetian painting was decorative. To realize this we have only to think of the Doges' Palace—not only as it is now, adorned with the magnificent works of Titian, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Palma Giovane, and other late masters, but as it was before the great fire of 1577, enriched by the paintings of many famous Quattrocento artists, such as the Bellini, whom the State engaged to perpetuate the glories of the Venetian Republic. It is also true that native Venetian painting was from the first sensuous rather than intellectual, and became more and more so. The Venetian loved that splendour in art which he saw in Venetian sunset and sunrise. Even Gentile Bellini—in his vanished historical paintings in the Doges' Palace as well as in the extant, magnificent *Procession* and *Preaching of St Mark*—displayed a love for pageantry and pomp, and in spite of their wondrous tranquillity Giovanni Bellini's religious pictures reveal a delight

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in colour and sunshine, and in the beauty of the natural world and of gracious form and feature and drapery, which is quite as perceptible as it is in Titian himself, though expressed on a smaller scale. But although sensuous, Venetian art is most certainly not merely 'ornamental.' Quite as much as any other artists, the great Venetian painters fulfil the highest function of art—that of revelation.

As ever, the new influence arrived late at Venice. In the first half of the Quattrocento native Venetian art could produce little else but triptychs and suchlike pieces. To decorate their great Council Hall the republic had to seek artists from elsewhere—such as Gentile da Fabriano from Umbria. It was not till about 1440 that Antonio Vivarini founded on the island of Murano the *bottega* (workshop) which proved the original source of genuine Venetian painting. This source was at first tainted by foreign influence, for a certain Johann of Germany, with Teutonic genius for peaceful penetration, joined the Vivarini studio, and the early efforts of the Murano school remind one strongly of the unlovely products of early (pre-Dürer) German art. But fortunately Antonio's brother, Bartolomeo (c. 1430–1500), and other Muranesi and Venetians, among whom Crivelli should be specially noted, passed under the influence of the new Paduan school and its great master, Mantegna, and even developed, what Mantegna himself failed to do, some skill in the new method of oil-painting.

Andrea Mantegna of Vicenza (1431–1506) worked more than forty years at Mantua, a city which was practically Lombard although at that time annexed to Venetia. We should not, however, class him with Lombard painters, for the Paduan school, of which he was by far the greatest master, and indeed the real founder, had special affinities with Venetian art, which for a time it influenced strongly. Until thirty years of age he was a pupil and an associate of Squarcione of Padua, a man who after being a tailor and an embroiderer began to practise painting and developed great enthusiasm for classical sculpture and architecture, a knowledge of which, together with that of anatomy and linear perspective, he zealously imparted to his pupils. Nor were his early paintings without considerable vigour and originality, as



308. MADONNA AND SLEEPING CHILD

By Antonio Vivarini

Venice, Accademia

Photo Alinari



309. ENTHRONED MADONNA

By Mantegna. *Verona, S. Zeno*

Photo Alinari

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may be seen from a polyptych of five sections (*St Jerome with Four other Saints*) in the Paduan Museum.

During his Paduan period Mantegna developed to the full his extraordinary powers of depicting in rich colour, and amid magnificent classical decorative surroundings, the beauty and nobility of the human figure and face. Of this a proof is the great triptych (1457-59) in the church of S. Zeno at Verona, of which my illustration (Fig. 309) gives the central section (*The Virgin Enthroned*, surrounded by cherub-musicians). A work that occupied him longer, and which was long regarded as of a value for North Italy not inferior to that of Masaccio's Carmine frescos for Tuscany, was the series of frescos in the Paduan church of the Eremitani which forms part of a great cycle of episodes from the life of St James and of St Christopher.

Soon after these two great works were finished, viz., in 1460, Mantegna, who had for some time had connexions with Venice, and had become intimate with Jacopo Bellini, fell in love with and married that painter's daughter, Nicolosa; whereupon Squarcione quarrelled with him, and he migrated from Padua to Mantua. Here the Marquis Lodovico, the second of the Gonzaga rulers (who was married to a Hohenzollern), employed him (c. 1474-78) to decorate the Castello di Corte with frescos, of which have survived only those of the Camera degli Sposi. They depict scenes from the lives of the Gonzagas, and are, in spite of the bad restoration of 1846, still fine specimens of Mantegna's work and contain numerous strikingly realistic portraits of the Gonzagas, amongst which is one of that Barbara Hohenzollern who, as well as the succeeding Marchesa, Margaret of Bavaria, was accountable for the presence of Teutonic characteristics in this family. Some years later, when the 'Lady of the Renaissance,' Isabella d'Este, was betrothed to the bellicose but despicable Francesco II of Mantua, he painted her portrait, and when she became Marchesa of Mantua he did splendid service for her and her husband, painting for them many beautiful pictures, among which are especially notable the magnificent *Triumph of Julius Caesar*,¹ and the

¹ These canvases, much injured, are at Hampton Court. They were probably decorations for the Mantuan court theatre.

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Madonna della Vittoria, now in the Louvre, which was meant to commemorate the (very doubtful) victory of Francesco and the allies over the French at Fornovo in 1495. Sad to say, the 'Lady of the Renaissance' and her precious husband neglected their faithful court painter in his latter days, and it is said that he died in destitution.

Among Mantegna's characteristics is great mastery in foreshortening. This is exemplified by his very wonderfully drawn but exceedingly repellent *Dead Christ* in the Brera Gallery.

The earlier works of the Paduan-Mantuan school for a time strongly affected Venetian painting, but there was already making itself felt in Venice an influence that was destined to extinguish all relics of Teutonic unloveliness and to outvie the noble but too grandiose style of Mantegna. This was that *dolce stil nuovo* which, as we have seen, had originated in Umbria with Gentile da Fabriano. By him the first of the Bellini, Jacopo, was taught this sweet new Umbrian style, and from Jacopo it was learnt by his two famous sons, Gentile and Giovanni, who combined it with a few of the best elements in the traditions and practice of the Paduans and the Muranesi, and, having brought oil-painting to great perfection, formed the first great school of Venetian painting—of all the schools of the Italian Renaissance perhaps the greatest in the attainment of spiritualized human beauty.

The triumph of the *scuola bellinesca* over the *mantegnesca* was doubtless partly due to the use made by the Bellini of the new method of painting in oils which was, perhaps, introduced from Flanders into Venice by Antonello da Messina about 1473; for this new method was very favourable to the display of magnificence in great festal and historical scenes, such as Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio loved to paint, and to the delicate tints and details, the luminous and profound colours, and the striking contrasts by which portraits and religious pictures gained a fresh and irresistible charm, such as so strongly attracts us in the works of Giovanni Bellini.

Of paintings by Jacopo Bellini (c. 1400–70) we possess for certain only a *Crucifixion* (Verona) and two or three *Madonna*



310. THE 'MADONNA OF THE TWO TREES'

By Giovanni Bellini. *Venice, Accademia*

Photo Brogi



311. ENTHRONED MADONNA AND CHILD

By Giovanni Bellini. See p. 410 and n.

Venice, Accademia

Photo Alinari

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and *Child* pictures, one of which is in the Accademia at Venice and another (a late addition) in the Uffizi. This latter is probably the earliest specimen of that 'Bellini' type of Madonna which we associate specially with Giovanni. But in form and expression it is very wooden, and possesses none of the charm of Giovanni's work. A number of extraordinarily fine pen-drawings by Jacopo are to be seen in the Louvre and in the British Museum. As already stated, he studied under Gentile da Fabriano, and introduced into Venice the serene and beautiful Umbrian style, but later he was strongly influenced by the genius of Mantegna, who became his son-in-law.

Gentile (c. 1429-1507) was the elder son of Jacopo Bellini, and was probably, as Vasari says, named after his father's well-loved Umbrian master, Gentile da Fabriano. He evidently had a genuine Venetian love of rich colour and magnificence, and delighted in depicting impressive scenes, such as religious ceremonies, etc., amid fine architectural surroundings, especially those of his native city. Examples of this are his two most important works, the *Procession in St Mark's Piazza* (Accademia, Venice) and the *Preaching of St Mark at Alexandria* (Brera, Milan). The former was painted about 1494 (see Fig. 307); the latter was finished by his brother Giovanni, perhaps when he (Gentile) was sent by the Venetian Government to Constantinople.

This took place in 1480—the year in which Venice made a humiliating peace with the Turks and did the very ignoble deed of inciting them to attack South Italy, in order to divert peril from herself. The Sultan Mohammed II—the famous conqueror of Constantinople—requested the republic to send him the best Venetian painter; and they chose Gentile. His wonderfully executed and exceedingly interesting portrait of Mohammed, painted at Constantinople, was long in the possession of Sir Henry Layard, at Venice, but has recently been added to the treasures of our National Gallery.¹

Giovanni, or Gian, Bellini, also called Giambellino, the

¹ It is related that, in order to prove to Gentile that his painting of the execution of the Baptist was anatomically incorrect, Mohammed had a slave decapitated in the presence of the horrified artist.

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younger brother of Gentile, was born about 1430 and lived nearly ninety years, *i.e.*, till 1516. In early days he doubtless imbibed to the full the Umbrian influences which then prevailed in his father's *bottega*, and although for a time he was strongly affected by the powerful genius of Mantegna,¹ it is these Umbrian influences which lend peculiar charm to his works—a charm that distinguishes him from Mantegna amid the Mantegnesque surroundings that we find in some of his larger pictures, such as the exceedingly fine *Enthroned Madonna* of the Venetian Accademia.² This charm is strongest in those inexpressibly beautiful Madonnas of his where the Virgin Mother is alone, or with her Child and seated before a curtain or some such simple background, with sometimes in the distance a glimpse of lovely scenery.

Other well-known works of Giambellino are the *Virgin* with background of two trees (1487), in the Venetian Accademia; the *Virgin and Two Saints* (a great triptych of 1488), in the Frari church; the *Virgin with Four Saints* (1505), in S. Zaccaria; the *Virgin with the Magdalen and St Catharine* (Accademia), etc. The altar-piece in S. Zaccaria, painted when Giovanni Bellini was about seventy-eight years of age, shows very distinctly the new influences which the younger artists, especially Giorgione, were beginning to exercise, and is a very striking proof that the so-called great era of Venetian painting (that of which Titian and Tintoretto are perhaps the chief representatives) had begun. 'There is no other example up to this time,' say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'of great monumental art in this school [that of the Bellini]; none in which composition, expression, movement, effect, and colour are so richly combined with freedom of hand.'

Late in his long life Giovanni Bellini was influenced not only by the genius of the young Giorgione (who may possibly have studied under him and died before him, at the age of

¹ The *Prayer in the Garden* (Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane) in our National Gallery is an early work which is considered to reflect strongly the influence of Mantegna.

² With Job, St Sebastian, St Dominic, and charming little angel-musicians. See illustration. It dates from *c.* 1478—only a year or so after Giorgione's birth—when Giovanni was about fifty years of age.



312. THE YOUNG TOBIAS WITH THE ARCHANGEL AND TWO SAINTS

By Cima da Conegliano. *Venice, Accademia*

Photo Alinari



313. RECEPTION OF THE ENGLISH EMBASSY BY KING MAURUS

From Cardaccio's *Legend of St Ursula*

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about thirty-two) but by Albrecht Dürer, and it is probably to this influence that is attributable the fantastic character of some of his late productions, such as various allegorical pictures in the Venetian Accademia and a sacred allegory in the Florentine Uffizi. A curious specimen of levity—almost jollity—not elsewhere discernible in his works, so fraught with dignity and tranquil beauty, is offered by a picture of revelling bacchants (*Il Baccanale*) in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick.

From the studios of the Bellini came forth many pupils, but (if we except the case of Giorgione, which is more than doubtful) none proved of great ability, although some, such as Previtali of Bergamo, Pennecchi, Bissolo, Bartolomeo Veneto, and others, were clever painters. But to the art of the Bellini, especially to that of Giovanni, were very largely indebted, more or less directly, most of the great artists who toward the end of the Quattrocento began to win for Venice a glory more lasting than that which she so long possessed as a great maritime power and as the bulwark of Western Christianity against the Turkish peril. When, in the following volume, we arrive at the Cinquecento we shall note how the youthful but very great artist, Giorgione, introduced a new era in Venetian painting by emancipating it from the solemnity of medieval religious sentiment and by teaching it freely to depict in the richest colours what is joyous and beautiful in human life and in nature. With an ever wider treatment of these new themes Venetian art in the next century passed onward to the splendours of Titian and to the spectacular magnificence of the later *cinqucentisti*.

To the *scuola bellinesca* belonged Cima da Conegliano (1459-1517), and contemporary with him was Carpaccio. Cima is sometimes treated condescendingly—even contemptuously—by experts. His paintings are excellent, we are told; they have a 'mild and agreeable air,' but show no real grandeur, nor even originality, and but little technical skill.¹ It is true that they can bear no comparison with the works of his great predecessor, Giambellino; but amongst the many 'Cimas' that are to be found in galleries there

¹ So Morelli, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

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are not a few that by their tranquil beauty and their warm sunshine appeal very strongly to the unsophisticated. Such a picture—full of love for the scenery of his native hills and streams and showing a noble type of figure and face—is the *Baptism* in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora; and even the flower-sprent picture of the *Baptist and Four Saints* in Madonna dell'Orto—a first assay, it is said, in oils, and condemned for inaccurate drawing—lives in the memory of many who know Venice.

Carpaccio (c. 1460 ?–c. 1520) was perhaps a pupil, perhaps only a youthful admirer, of Gentile Bellini; possibly also his companion at Constantinople. Gentile's *Mohammed II, Venetian Embassy in Constantinople* (Louvre), *Procession*, and *Preaching of St Mark* (Brera) show—as also his celebrated historical pictures in the Doges' Palace once showed—that there was at Venice quite as strong a tendency toward narrative and secular painting as can be observed anywhere else during the Quattrocento.¹ In the same direction tended Carpaccio. His paintings have none of the exquisite finish and harmony and sunshine of the Bellini school. He is rough and careless—sometimes almost coarse—but there is a wonderful vigour in his compositions. His most important works (c. 1490–95) are the exceedingly dramatic and pictorial nine canvases (now in the Accademia) on which he depicted the legend of St Ursula,² and the even more masterly, but in conception and in treatment sometimes painfully masterful and ungentle, paintings commemorating St George, St Jerome, and S. Triphon that every reader of *St Mark's Rest* is sure to visit in the 'Shrine of the Slaves,' as Ruskin called the little chapel or school of the Slavonians (Dalmatians) near the Venetian Arsenal.

¹ In Botticelli's *Venus*, etc., we have classical subjects, in Leonardo's and Michelangelo's designs for the Palazzo Vecchio we have secular, in Pinturicchio's Piccolomini frescos at Siena and in Benozzo Gozzoli's *Journey of the Magi* we have narrative and portraiture—but such things were until late in the Quattrocento comparatively rare. The historical and mythological frescos in the Vatican Stanze were not painted by Raphael and his disciples till after Gentile's death in 1507.

² Especially fine and interesting is the *Reception of the English Embassy by King Maurus*. See illustration.



314. POPE SIXTUS IV AND PLATINA

By Melozzo of Forlì. *Vatican Gallery*

Photo Brogi



315. ENTHRONED MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND ANGELIC MUSICIAN

By Francesco Francia. *Bologna, Pinacoteca*

Photo Brogi

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(d) Emilia¹ and Lombardy

If we except Mantegna—who belongs to the Paduan school, though he worked more than forty years at Mantua—the greatest Lombard or Emilian painters of the Quattrocento are Melozzo of Forli and Francia of Bologna.

Melozzo of Forli (1438–94) produced his chief works at Rome, whither he was summoned by Sixtus IV. He had been perhaps a pupil of Mantegna, and Mantegna's influence seems clearly shown in the extremely violent foreshortenings in the famous apse and ceiling fresco of his *Ascension* in the Roman church of SS. Apostoli, the remnants of which fresco (including the well-known music-making angels) are still to be seen in the sacristy of St Peter's and in the Quirinal. There is also in the Vatican gallery (Fig. 314) a very beautifully designed and painted fresco (transferred to canvas) which once adorned a wall in the Sistine Library. It was painted by order of Pope Sixtus and represents him commissioning as papal librarian the famous scholar Platina in the presence of Giuliano Rovere (later Julius II) and Girolamo Riario. Before painting this fresco Melozzo had become a great friend of Piero della Francesca and an admirer of his style. The two had been probably at Urbino together in 1475, when Piero painted his famous portrait of Duke Frederic and Melozzo produced for Duke Frederic some very fine allegorical figures, two of which (*Music* and *Rhetoric*) we possess in our National Gallery.² Another of his fine figures is that of Gabriel in the *Annunciation*, lately discovered and now in the Uffizi. It is moreover very characteristic of Melozzo's love of vigour and movement—such as we see in his angel-musicians at Rome—for the angel is depicted as evidently just alighting, almost breathless and scarce able to restrain his forward motion.

Francia of Bologna (1450–1517) first became famous as goldsmith and medallist. In painting he adopted more and

¹ L'Emilia, the Latin Aemilia, was so called from the Via Aemilia, running from Rimini to Piacenza. The southern regions of Emilia formed later (from c. 850) a part of Romagna. Hence some of these painters of Emilia and the Marche are also called 'Romagnoli.'

² While at Urbino he was, it is said, the guest of Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, who mentions him affectionately in his famous *Cronaca*.

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more a simple style, renouncing all the magnificent apparatus of splendid thrones and marble reliefs and garlands so dear to Mantegna. His easel pictures, many of which are to be seen in the Bologna Accademia and in other galleries, appeal to one by their unaffected composition and their unambitious, restful spirit. As might have been expected with such a painter, he had very numerous (some say over two hundred) pupils, but none of great distinction. A great friend of his was Costa, known as the 'Ferrarese Perugino.' The story of Vasari that Francia 'died of melancholy' after seeing Raphael's *St Cecilia* (painted about 1515) seems contradicted by the facts that he addressed a most affectionate sonnet to his young rival, prophesying his future fame, and that Raphael wrote a letter full of admiration for the *belle e devote Madonne* of the old Bolognese artist.

The painters of Lombardy before the coming of Leonardo da Vinci to Milan (c. 1482) are not of great importance.¹ They practised a local style of 'serious and severe aesthetic sentiment,' as Ricci calls it, which had some influence on Leonardo—perhaps benignly moderating his bent toward that 'sweetness' the danger of which, says Mr Berenson, was overcome in him by his 'sovereign power over form,' but wrought mischief among his followers.

Lastly, **Rome and Naples** were already in the Quattrocento, as we have seen, the temporary homes of some great artists, but neither they nor any other city or region of South Italy produced until later any really notable painters, with one exception—namely, that Antonello da Messina whose perhaps legendary importation of oil-painting from Flanders into Venetia has already occupied our attention. His works are rare. His portraits (two at Milan) are very striking indeed as realistic reproductions of the human face.

¹ Vincenzo Foppa (died about 1515) is said by Vasari to have studied under Squarcione at Padua. He worked at Pavia, Milan, and Genoa. A frigid *St Sebastian* of his is in the Brera. Bergognone (called by Morelli 'the Angelico of Lombardy') has left not a few works of delicate colouring and real dignity in an old-fashioned style. Zenale and the de Predis (Cristoforo and Ambrogio) worked at Milan under the Sforza dukes (c. 1470-1500).



316. PORTRAIT BY ANTONELLO DA MESSINA
Milan, Pinacoteca Civica
Photo Brogi



317. PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF
By Perugino. *Florence, Uffizi*
Photo Brogi



318. THE YOUNG TOBIAS AND THE ARCHANGELS
Now ascribed to the School of Verrocchio. Compare Fig. 312
Florence, Uffizi

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*References to the illustrations are printed in heavy type.
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